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TABLE II/5 (*continued*)

| *Activity* | *Total hours* | *Percentage contrib.** |
|---|---|---|
| *Both* | | *Men* |
| Paid work | 1,128.8 | 56 |
| Other crops – harvest | 1,109.0 | 54 |
| Sick – personal | 442.6 | 53 |
| Yam – harvest | 412.6 | 53 |
| Coffee – process | 398.4 | 53 |
| Collecting firewood | 234.1 | 52 |
| Social obligations – mourning | 783.9 | 51 |
| Other crops – market | 66.9 | 51 |
| Church services | 1,946.2 | 46 |
| Meetings | 898.7 | 44 |
| Fishing | 165.0 | 44 |
| Council work | 824.2 | 42 |
| Taro – maintain | 2,551.6 | 37 |

* Where one sex carries out more than two-thirds of the work and where the total amount exceeds .01 per cent (29.0 hours) of the total hours active for the whole sample.

there is a ritual prohibition, for which I shall later quote the mythological charter, to hold a feast at all. 433 437

In any case, there seem to be two basic limitations to the size of a feast. First, the custom of restricting the number of guests to the inhabitants of *one* village, usually of about the same size as the inviting village. There are of course many variations to this custom but the principle of limitation is usually present. Secondly, the generosity shown to the guests, though outwardly most impressive, is restricted by the amount the guests can physically carry away. Though the food lying on the feasting platform looks inexhaustible to the observer, and the guests are capable of carrying away a heroic amount of food after a feast, the overall economic impact is minor. 527 527 574 628

Waddell remarks most interestingly that, in comparison with the main crops (taro, bananas and sugar-cane), a far higher proportion of dry season crops enter the exchange network. This applies especially to sago, breadfruit, sweet potatoes and yams. Waddell does not discuss nuts, but these are often given to friends and function as the small change of sociability. Both *tauga* and *puga* are stored for the season of shortage; betelnut is a traditional trade item. All vegetable produce is nowadays considered suitable for marketing. Villages near Popondetta have far more opportunity to sell or barter produce than the villages on the Mount Lamington foothills. 439 437 438

It is customary for animal food to enter the exchange network, either as a gift or as part of a festive meal to which guests are invited. Meat is ceremonial food, eaten for instance to mark the settlement of a quarrel. It is considered somewhat [261]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 31]

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improper to eat meat without introducing some element of gift exchange, very much like 'party food' in our own society.

In general, people take any wood they need from their own land. The only record I have of transactions involving wood concerns the obtaining of less common building materials for houses. My informants made a clear distinction between gifts of bush trees and gifts of sago. The former kind create no specific debt but whenever sago is taken a return gift is expected, because, I was told, sago is a cultivated plant.

With regard to feathers and *hambo*, attitudes differ as between areas where raw materials are plentiful and areas where they are rare. On the Mount Lamington foothills they seldom enter the exchange network – perhaps once a generarion, during a ceremony of uncommon importance. On the alluvial plains, they are a frequent trade item.[8] Of other items of traditional trade, betelnuts and lime are the most important. Betelnut grows only on the foothills; lime is made of shells collected on the seashore. It was, and is, therefore common to exchange one for the other, as betelnut can be chewed only together with lime and betelnut chewing is as popular a social activity among the Orokaiva as it is throughout New Guinea and Indonesia. A peppery plant called *hingi* (piper betel) is always chewed with the other two ingredients. This again grows best on the hills, so that it is often exchanged with the betelnuts. The alluvial plains are in a poor bargaining position with regard to the betelnut complex as they produce none of the ingredients from their own land. It may be partly for this reason that they are accustomed to accumulating animal products and to using these as objects of trade.

By far the largest number of exchanges take place within a village, only a minority of transactions occurring between members of different village

TABLE II/7

ACQUISITION OF 'HAMBO' AND 'DI'
(*Source*: Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 51; Rimoldi 1966: 80)

| | *Sivepe* | | *Inonda* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Hambo* | *Di* | *Hambo* | *Di* |
| Inheritance, cash value ($) | 48.40 | 17.60 | 18.60 | 5.70 |
| Percentage | 53% | 40% | 17% | 12% |
| Cash Purchase, value ($) | 9.30 | 4.50 | 36.10 | 2.00 |
| Percentage | 10% | 10% | 33% | 4% |
| Bride price or other exchanges, value ($) | 17.70 | 6.50 | 48.30 | 17.90 |
| Percentage | 19% | 14% | 44% | 38% |
| Made or caught, value ($) | 16.60 | 15.40 | 5.90 | 21.10 |
| Percentage | 18% | 35% | 5% | 45% |
| *Total, value*: ($) | 92.00 | 44.00 | 108.90 | 46.70 |

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communities. When these do occur they are usually between neighbouring communities, as Waddell and Krinks have clearly demonstrated.[9] Intertribal trade, though small in volume, was politically important in that it provided a motive for terminating, or at least interrupting, warlike disputes. Intertribal trade was mainly in animal products, betelnut ingredients, feathers, *hambo*, and certain artifacts which were known to be of high quality in particular districts, e.g. Binandere pots were exchanged for Yega loincloths; only mountain people could supply cassowary feathers, and so on. Such exchanges may, under modern conditions, take the form of gift exchange, barter or sale but it may be doubted whether barter was ever as clearly institutionalised and differentiated from gift exchange among the Orokaiva as is the case in many other parts of Melanesia.

*Money.* With a few reservations, one could describe the role of money in the modern Orokaiva economy in much the same terms as Salisbury used for the Siane (1962). Salisbury distinguishes between three nexuses of activity. One is concerned with the production, distribution and consumption of subsistence goods, another with luxury goods and a third with ceremonial goods. The three nexuses involve not only categories of goods but also different types of social groups. Among the Orokaiva as among the Siane, money mainly enters the luxury and ceremonial nexuses. As with the Siane, the Orokaiva tend to store pound notes in treasure boxes, with *di* and *hambo*, and to keep them for special purposes which are often ceremonial (payment of brideprice, giving of feasts and church donations), but sometimes utilitarian (payment of taxes). Purchases in trade stores are mostly for luxury items, i.e. objects which the Orokaiva use only when there are guests to be entertained (tinned meat and fish, sugar, tea, batteries, cartridges, kerosene and tobacco, for example). Foods like rice, bread and flour are classifiable as luxuries among the hill people, as here they are used exclusively as guest foods. It is clear, however, from Waddell and Krinks' statistics that on the alluvial plains near Popondetta, rice and flour is bought in far greater quantity in months when taro is in short supply. These products are thus taking the place of subsidiary crops. People in this area prefer to make money from cash crops and services and to spend some of their cash on supplementary staples. The Siane, at the time of Salisbury's research, did not depend on cash as a source of staple food.

The use of money for capital goods merits some attention. Salisbury defines capital as a stock of goods, present before a productive act is performed, used in production and 'immobilised' from direct consumption while the act is in progress. Tools and implements are classed as 'durable instruments of production.' Houses and clothing, etc., are called consumer's capital because they 'produce' services for their owners while they exist. It is interesting to compare, in respect of monetary input, everyday consumer goods and the types of capital just mentioned. While the former have generally remained outside the cash economy, it is precisely in the sphere of capital goods that the traditional industries have been largely or wholly replaced by cash-purchased innovations such as trade, store clothing, agricultural, hunting and cooking implements. Totally new items – radios, flashlights, wrist watches, pressure lamps, sewing machines and guitars have been added. Locked suitcases, for the storage of valuables, are very popular, indicating that safe storage used to be a vexing problem.

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431 phase would last about two days. Villages where I made very brief visits never
123 passed beyond that stage, thus remaining in my memory as exceptionally endearing in their generosity. Before I understood the system, I harboured romantic notions of going to live in these villages. In the second phase there would be frantic *hoija*. Everyone brought gifts, asked for tobacco, salt, kerosene, and rides in the car. People appeared to be most hurt when I would not drive into Popondetta every day, and take the whole village with me. Whenever I was offered any gifts or service during this period there would be an immediate demand for some desired benefit.

436 After some weeks, this rather aggressive barrage diminished. I found myself
123 with a number of regular exchange partners who brought me what it was presumed I needed and who asked me for more or less standard return benefits.
431 Two sorts of partnership developed: one type of partner expected a return gift immediately upon bringing me his own; the second type made gifts for which he asked nothing – they were represented as gestures of pure affection. Yet in the future an occasion would arise when I would be asked for, or would spontaneously offer, something in return. But this second type of partnership was far more similar to the kind of gift exchange the village people had among their fellow villagers or close associates. As more and more people shifted from the first to the second type of partnership, I could see something like a genuine exchange network building up. People trusted me enough to allow me to be in their debt for a while. I was thus approaching the stage when I would be regarded as a desirable exhange partner, or, to put it in Orokaiva terms, as a man of some moral virtue. It seemed to me that it was on my behaviour as an exchange partner that my status would ultimately depend.

431 Most of the significant events in which the village was involved were also concerned with exchange. While marriages, deaths, feasts and initiations were all occasions for ritual and magic, the gifts always loomed largest in everyone's interests. It would usually take at least a year, but often far longer, to accumulate the gifts needed for such occasions. During this period members of the family, local clan branch or village (whichever was the donating group) would be constantly on the lookout for money or gift objects that could be stored up. People would go looking for jobs. They would keep unused some
● [628] clothing they had been given by a relative. Whenever a visit outside the village
[594] was contemplated, an essential part of the preparations was the getting together of the gifts that would have to be taken. Or when a visitor arrived, there was stealthy activity in the background to prepare the gifts without which he would not be allowed to leave. The size of the gifts would always be carefully planned, in accordance with the importance of the visit, the extent to which it was thought politic to do homage, and the availability of supplies. But the making of the gift would always be done in so casual a manner that one might easily believe it was totally spontaneous.

This manner must be affectionate and humble. But the wise man, in making a gift, puts his partner in his debt as much as possible without suffering undue expense, while at the same time enhancing his own status. At a later time, he will use his status as creditor to the best advantage. His concern is to foster a social relationship while at the same time seeking the acquisition of some scarce resource. Social and economic ends are pursued simultaneously. Thus Melanesian

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Totoima's body, from which all derive their *ivo*. The feast seems to be the occasion *par excellence*, at which the primeval communion is re-enacted. This is, of course, a point that needs careful empirical demonstration, which will be given in Chapter VII. All I wish to suggest at this stage is the existence of at least one ritual device whereby the state of permanent *isoro* between social groups can be overcome, the re-enactment of a communion for which the Totoima myth provides the mythological charter. Such a communion may be brought about only by a long series of economic and ritual preparations, such as a feast requires; there must be an abundance of taro and of pig, there must be feathers and ornaments, new loincloths, musical instruments and guests willing to share in the communion. Above all, there must be skilful magic. Even then, the success of a feast is never predictable, and always hangs in the balance. Thus the communion between social groups, in this philosophy always remains problematic but, for various practical reasons (the need for alliances in a world at war) it is frequently attempted. The social philosophy of the Orokaiva, then, starts from the assumption of the gulf that yawns between man and man, and proceeds to delineate various techniques (of which the feast is one) to bridge it.

We are now able to see more clearly why among the Orokaiva social exchange is rarely effective unless prestations of economic value are exchanged between partners to mutual satisfaction. Relations between social groups are generally unsatisfactory and hostile, but they can be made harmonious if one side gives the other a feast, which the other side must reciprocate. The harmony thus established is an extraordinary state which is sure to be interrupted by subsequent conflicts, so that feasts must be held periodically to keep group relationships within the bounds of amity.

Relationships between individuals follow the same pattern, though gift exchange here takes the place of the larger and more formal feasts. If no presents pass between two individuals for some time, this is thought to signify a breakdown of amity and the gradual re-establishment of the *natural* hostility between man and man. Only gift exchange prevents Orokaiva society from presenting the perfect living model of Hobbes' war between all and all. It is largely for this reason that I have chosen gift exchange as the basic principle in my analysis of Orokaiva society.[2]

### 3. *Towards a Model of Exchange*

The feasting myth quoted in the previous section seems to me to embody the essence of Orokaiva social philosophy, in as far as it explains the basic nature of gift exchange relations. My next task will be to translate this myth into the more abstract language of social science, as must be done if its ideas are to be made part of anthropological discourse.

A feast tends to be held by two social groups between whom relations have turned somewhat sour. There may have been a war, or a murder, or some other grievous act of violence or there may have been no more than minor friction between them. One side may suspect that the other performed black magic against them. Generally speaking, however, by the premises of Orokaiva social philosophy, both sides will have been storing up some grievances against the other. Often neither side will be willing to admit to the major responsibility for

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the ill feeling that has built up; usually any attempt to assign guilt would lead only to further conflict, as the record is too tangled to be satisfactorily sorted out. The party which decides to hold the feast and to invite the other side may or may not admit that it regards itself as guilty, and that it owes the other side a debt. The past is simply set aside and the host acts as though the feast is a free gift, an expression of disinterested love and generosity. The guest at the feast accepts the same fiction.

Accordingly, if we regard a feast as an occasion for social exchange, as the Orokaiva undoubtedly do, the basic objects of exchange are repentance and forgiveness. Sometimes a few words are exchanged between host and guest to express this notion of forgiving and forgetting, though I do not suppose this is invariably the case. On one occasion I invited a man to have a feast with me, after some months during which he had been acting unpleasantly towards me for reasons I did not quite understand. I must have unwittingly offended him. After the meal he said: 'I did not really know you before now.' This implied that he was willing to forgive and forget whatever had previously annoyed him. At the same time, the fact of my inviting him indicated that I was sorry for whatever I had done wrong. What we were really exchanging was a willingness to change our attitudes to each other, which involved some effort for both of us. Whether this is, in practice, done genuinely or only ritually does not concern me here as I am discussing feasts from the viewpoint of Orokaiva collective representations. When two groups feast together, each has the obligation to feel sorry for any offence he has caused and to forgive any offence caused by the other side. It is only thus that the feast can interrupt the inherent enmity between man and man. Through the sharing of meat the two sides re-enact the communion existing in primordial times when men, as brothers, shared the body of Totoima.

An essential part of any feast is that the host should offer meat to his guest. But it is a total misapprehension of Orokaiva social philosophy to believe that it is the meat that is being exchanged for forgiveness. If that were so, it would not be essential for the two parties to consume it together. Certainly, if I have offended another person, I may make him a gift of meat in reparation. This is often done. But the reconciliation between the parties is not effected by such a gift alone. There must in addition be commensality (the common eating of taro) and communion (the common eating of meat). The meat used in such a communion is not an object of exchange. It is better described as a mediating element which makes possible the actual transaction (i.e. the exchange of repentance and forgiveness). Orokaiva are quite definite that there can be no true repentance and forgiveness between men unless meat is consumed between them. One may therefore regard meat as a *necessary* mediating element in this transaction.

Perhaps the most useful insight to be derived from Orokaiva social philosophy is that the natural form of a social relationship is cyclical and moves regularly from hostility to reconciliation and back to hostility. In other words, the Orokaiva do not see the model of a friendship, as do Westerners, in the form of a perpetual harmony, so that every conflict that arises is regarded as a deviation from the model. On the contrary, Orokaiva consider conflict as intrinsic to the model. This is true also in the discussion of quite intimate relationships: father and son, husband and wife, and so on. The perfect relationship is not one where

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628 In dealings between different villages, the use of a chain of mediators is extremely common. A will approach a fellow-villager B, who has connections in the other village; B will go to the other village and see C, his closest contact. C will then most likely go to D, one of the intimates of the person E with whom A desires to deal, and D will look for E. During the ensuing conversation, A and E will say very little, and it is the intermediaries who do most of the talking.

824 431 621 571 The intimate associate, often a neighbour, is thus extremely valuable, as he opens up a vista of alliances to which his partner has no easy access. A man's effective social network is therefore much wider than any network he could personally maintain by direct exchanges. Most of his effective alliances are vicarious and can be reached only through intermediaries.

The social network maintained by a sizeable circuit is therefore very considerable. It is greater than any solidarity group the Orokaiva could build up by maintaining their patrilineage bonds or by exclusively exploiting any other principle of kin group solidarity. The significance of gifts of cooked taro is that they maintain the intimate bonds needed to retain vicarious access to this network. Cooked taro mediates not only the exchange of intimate attachment, but also the exchange access to *alter's* private network of alliances.

If a village formed a perfect cluster, this kind of exchange could not happen, as all members share exclusively each other's most intimate alliances. Where a circuit structure prevails, a man's partner always has an intimate relationship he does not share, so that the man is dependent on his partner for access to that partner's distinctive exchange network. A society whose solidarity depends heavily on direct immediate exchange may have a rather wide network of alliances as long as it has strong institutional patterns of mediation. The importance of these patterns in Orokaiva society cannot, of course, be gauged by reference to taro exchanges alone, but it is now possible to inquire to what extent the model I have constructed on the basis of taro exchange applies in other areas of Orokaiva culture.

Clearly this model, if transposed to the level of marriage exchange, would include elements of both direct and generalised exchange. The cluster resembles direct exchange: the maintenance of relationships within the system depends entirely on benefits received from all households included in the system. On the other hand the chain has the circular form characteristic of generalised exchange. It includes households who receive no direct benefits from one another except the vicarious one of joint membership in the system. In some respects the chain, of course, differs fundamentally from a system of generalised exchange: the taro travels in both directions around the circle. But I have emphasised that taro is not strictly an object of exchange but of mediation. If there is a need to establish intimate social exchange between remote members of a chain, this will not be, as a general rule, for the exchange of identical benefits. Thus the benefits travelling in each direction along the chain may differ and may not belong to the same sphere of exchange.

While relationships within a cluster are very intimate, those within a large chain may require delicate diplomacy. Yet a chain does not, in my experience, contain members who are actively hostile to one another. The exchange of cooked taro has to to with the maintenance of friendly relations, and collapses if serious conflict arises. The management of serious conflict requires different

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *dema* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

## 2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sowai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sowai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

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574 782 431 437 [572] successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema* figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered important ritual services.

578 431 571 825 [824] An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his [754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the 628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of 728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise 574 be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 571 574 431 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

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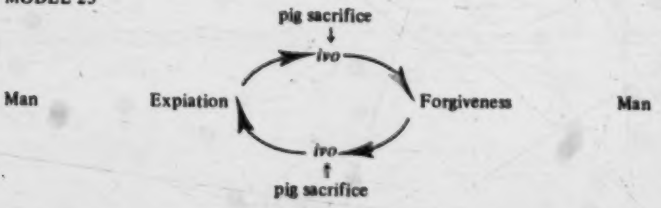
sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.

Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of the whole transaction:

MODEL 25




This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasise even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

### 6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a

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desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

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incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

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574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the [769 614] sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *two* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to his reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A

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574 621 [789] [754] crop failure at Hohorita would be explained as resulting from sorcery inflicted upon the people collectively by a sorcerer from one of the traditionally hostile villages near which the Sangara have been forced to live since the eruption. The sickness of a Sivepe woman resident in Togahou would be ascribed to an unknown Togahou sorcerer in whom the old anger against Sivepe still rankled. It might have been almost anyone. Both these types of trouble were met by the collective catharsis of a feast, as everybody had been involved in the wars that caused the hostility.

574 628 437 572 Yet it is clear, from the evidence presented here, that a feast does not serve to set up warm and affective relationships between collectivities: the host and guest communities, as such, do not actually eat together or converse with each other closely. Strictly, they do not even sacrifice to each other. Certainly, some significant bonds are established, but these are entirely between the sets of individual partners. It is they who sacrifice, offer hospitality and make opulent gifts to each other. It is they who come to know each other in the intimacy of their homes. In some cases the host has never met his guest before the feast was planned. In other cases, host and guest are kinsmen or traditional guest-friends. A partnership which starts at a feast may be ephemeral but if the partners feel attracted towards each other, it may be perpetuated and even become a hereditary guest-friendship. Moreover, feasts may generate love affairs and may make strangers into affines.

It is in the individual friendships established in the host and guest villages that we find the best hope of future peace. Though strife between individuals is always likely to recur, it is the inter-village friendship links that may prevent this strife from spreading and becoming collective. Any explanation of Orokaiva pig sacrifice has to take account of the fact that many of the vital transactions, sacred as well as secular, are between individuals, not collectivities. The rites give a good deal of evidence for both communion and expiation, but their concrete end product is a set of dyadic relationships restored or established between individuals and their households. Certainly religious ideas enter into the transaction between the offerer and the beneficiary of the sacrifice, but these ideas serve principally to give the act of sacrifice the deep significance that is attached to the human bond: the sacrificer is possessed by his ancestor as he kills his own pig-child. This is powerful magic indeed with which to obligate the partner who receives the flesh of the victim.

## 7. *A Model of Pig Sacrifice*

574 628 778 While the evidence presented above is consistent with model 25, A that model does not account for all the facts under consideration. If we take a synchronic view of the transaction between host and guest, it is clear that both gain *ivo* from the feast. The guest gains *ivo* as he distributes the pig meat he has received to members of his family and perhaps some other members of his local group. The host gains *ivo* as the deleterious influences that previously caused disease, crop failure, etc. have been dispelled. We do not, however, obtain any explanation from the model as to why the pig sacrifice was a necessary preliminary to the obtaining of *ivo*.

A [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

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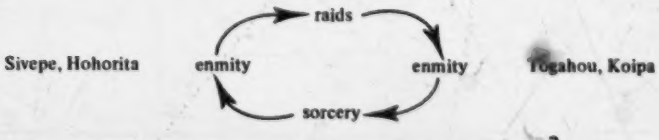
The evidence presented in the previous section shows that we are in fact concerned not with one exchange cycle (i.e. model 25) but with two. The second cycle represents the exchange of sanctions which preceded the feast. Though our data with regard to both the Togahou-Sivepe and the Sangara-Koipa (Isivita) wars are rather fragmentary, we do know that there were a number of raids, the last of which are still known to informants today and date back no more than 60 years. Each side is reported to have raided the other; there were killings; there was cannibalism; women were abducted. Sangara admits having abducted Isivita women but denies that any of its own women were abducted; abductions between Sivepe and Togahou can be shown to have been mutual. The last killings were too long ago for me to be sure which side had made the last raid and which side had, in the finish, a favourable tally of killings. Sivepe and Hohorita both claimed to have come out on the winning side, but I had no opportunity to check the evidence with Togahou and Isivita. If we accept the Sivepe and Hohorita versions, both these villages were in the unpleasant position of having enemies who were still seeking revenge.

Due to the restraints of the *pax Australiana*, this revenge could not take the form of an armed raid, but sorcery was still a possible form of relaliation, as the Australian authorities could not easily detect this. Both Sivepe and Hohorita might therefore justifiably fear sorcery from their old enemies, supposing they wanted to even the scores. There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that either Togahou or Koipa had such ideas in mind, but whenever misfortunes happened to Sivepe people in Togahou, or to gardens in Hohorita, the thought of sorcery used by old enemies seemed reasonable to the Orokaiva. We may represent the exchange of sanctions, prior to the feasts, in the following diagram:

MODEL 26




In order to account for pig sacrifice, we require both model 25 (showing the social exchange achieved by the feast) and model 26 (showing the circumstances which made Hohorita into an 'offender' and Koipa into an 'offended' party). In addition, we need to explain why the groups involved decided to adopt new objects of exchange in their social relationship. Until recently, the two sides exchanged enmity which they mediated by various penalties such as raids and sorcery. At the time of the feast, however, we find the same two parties exchanging expiation and forgiveness. It is possible to invoke a number of historical contingencies to explain this change. Informants liked to tell me that the change was due to the effect of the *iji eha*: the fact that everybody was baptised and moving into a new age when old enmities should be forgotten. I

574 628 721 728 [754] A,B [See Category 574, p. 148--Analyst]

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574 628 721 728 could not help noticing the connection between the reconciliation and the simultaneous fear of sorcery to which I have already referred. But perhaps neither historical explanation is necessary.

It seems clear from Williams' evidence and from the little I could reconstruct in 1966 that Orokaiva history had been one long sequence of hostilities and reconciliations. The reasons for the reconciliations were various: the legalising of marriages after abductions, the expediency of forming alliances with old enemies when faced with the threat of new enemies, a desire for peace after some Pyrrhic victories, and so on. On the level of myth we find the same message: the permanent state of *isoro* was interrupted by periodic feasts (see model 1). The series starts, according to myth, with a state of primordial peace. This is followed by *isoro, peka, isoro* in permanent alternation. We may represent the total pattern by the series of congruent ellipses drawn on parallel planes directly above one another (see Model 27).

I have presented transactions in historical time by a series of four transactions, the first and last of which are purely exchanges of penalties. Cycle 2 represents an agreement between two opponents to cease warfare and make peace (*peka*). This cycle would normally start with a message, sent by the original aggressor, that he is ready to make amends. This message would be followed by a visit from the other party to the aggressor, when the latter would promise to hold a feast. A customary practice at such a meeting was for the aggressor to plant a cordiline (*poponda*) in evidence of this promise. The aggressor would then arrange a pig sacrifice.

Cycle 3 would be marked by peace (*peka*). The victim of the original aggression would give a return feast which was probably obligatory. If the basic end of pig sacrifice were communion or expiation, no return feast would be necessary, but as we have found the basic end to be the establishment or restoration of social relations, on a basis of equality, there must be a balance of prestations. Each side must sacrifice pigs; each side must dance for the other; each side must dispel black magic from the gardens of the other. Each side must expiate past offences and each side must extend forgiveness. But the model shows that such reconciliation is not expected to be more than temporary although, of course, friendship between villages can sometimes be maintained for protracted periods and there is no rule against holding feasts before a quarrel has reached deadly proportions.

571 602 578 754 The model applies not only to inter-village relations but to all social relations in general, consanguineal and affinal relations included. Quarrels between consanguines differ only in their relatively greater reluctance to resort to an exchange of penalties and greater readiness to settle a quarrel before it has gone too far. But here a great deal is said to depend on the type of kin relationship holding between the quarrelling parties. A father or mother will rarely use sorcery or other harmful measures against his or her children. Certainly they will not do so until they have, in the course of the quarrel, broken off social relations by showing their plant emblem. Usually a quarrel does not go beyond the breaking off of relations, but if further unpleasantness should occur and if the person who has caused anger is experiencing some misfortune, sorcery will at once be suspected. The same is true in case of conflict with the father's or the mother's brother, though the showing of the plant emblem does not, in such

A [See Category 574, p. 58--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

*Figs*



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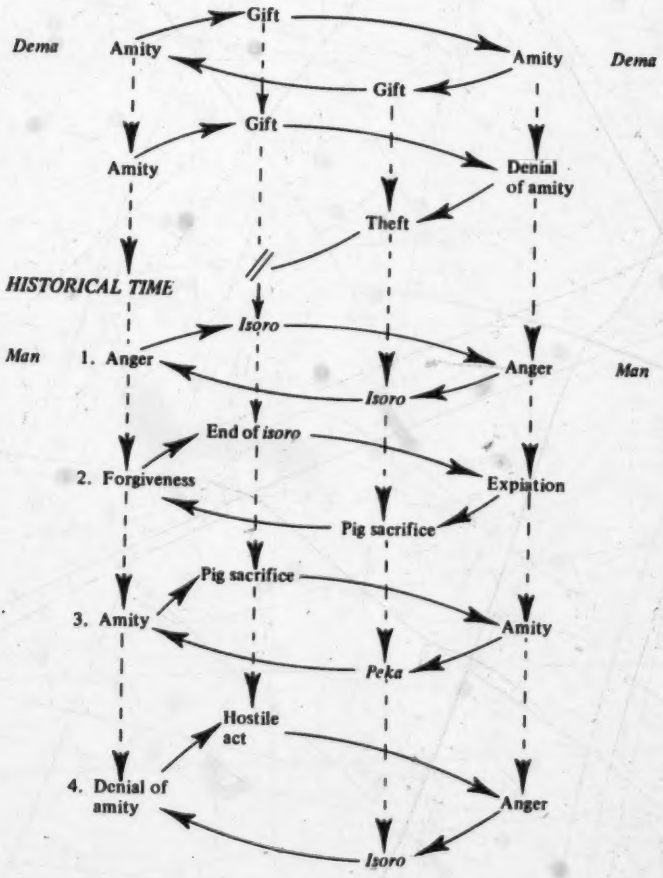
MODEL 27

*PRIMAL TIME*



604 receives certain essential medicines from his father (e.g. for hunting, for planting
789 taro) but other medicines are acquired during adolescence from the person who performs initiation, i.e. ideally the *epe*. These medicines include: *ba kovari sivo*, a medicine applied to taro leaves when the tubers have filled out and are ready for harvest; *kakara sivo*, a medicine for success in sex; and *saruka*, medicines for killing enemies. Though these presentations are entirely separate from the gift of an *otohu* they do indicate what spiritual capacities a man normally derives from his *epe*; the fact that these include the capacity to kill enemies helps us to understand more easily why killing is so strongly emphasised in the ritual of the bestowal of *otohu*.

881 Nobody has the *right* to receive an *otohu* nor does anyone have an obligation
301 to confer it. It depends in theory on the *epe's* appraisal of the worth of the young initiand and especially on how the latter has behaved towards his/her *epe*.
604 Has the initiand been co-operative, obedient, well-behaved? The questions are rather similar to those asked by Father Christmas. But, like Father Christmas, the *epe* has a prior commitment: to part with his treasure to *someone*: it is in the nature of the *otohu* to be passed on from generation to generation, and ideally it is passed on in the matriline.

881 When I asked informants about the significance of *otohu*, their replies were in
301 general very close to what Williams had reported: people respect their *otohu* as
597 the concrete embodiment of the moral virtues they regard as most important in life. When I asked for the reasons for this respect, one informant answered: 'I received this *otohu* from my mother's brother who was a good man. My sister has a son now. I want to give this *otohu* to that boy when he has grown big.
[778] *That is what makes it otohu* (=holy).' We should note the emphasis the informant placed on the words 'I want to'. He invoked neither obligation nor 'custom' but rather a sense that his *otohu*, by virtue of its inner nature, was destined to be passed on to another initiate. My informant did not consider this a loss to himself, for he said: 'If I want another one, I can always make myself one.'

729 The second ritual actor about whom I obtained additional data was the
881 *aguma*. The rite of tantalising the initiate before giving him his *otohu* continues; the term I was given for this rite among the Sangara was *otohu pasari*, the verb *pasari* being also used for catching fish. I was also told about the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds, but this information came from middle-aged men. When these men were initiated, there were still old warriors who could claim a respectable score of killings, but by now most of these old warriors must have died out
[266] among the Orokaiva. Profound changes in male initiation ritual have coincided with the dying out of the genuine old cannibals: one might say that one reason why the institution of initiation has been transformed is the absence of persons with the traditional qualifications of the *aguma*. One difference between the modern 'birthday party' and traditional initiation is the greatly reduced emphasis on killing as a capacity bestowed on the initiand.

729 *Aguma* were usually not from the same village as the initiands. They were
881 generally invited from a village two or three miles distant. In Sivepe, villages such as Isoge and Kendata were quoted to me as suitable places from which to invite
628 an *aguma*; for Hohorita initiations they might come from Bonge or Koipa. The
[754] total list of *aguma*-villages as given to me had a striking resemblance to another

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list which I had collected some time previously, namely the villages to which a person would go if he needed the services of a black magician, in other words, if he wished to apply *saruka* against a fellow villager who had injured him. When I pointed out this coincidence to informants they agreed that indeed they were always the same villages, but insisted there was no connection between *aguma* and *saruka embo*.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to explore such coincidences even if informants dismiss them as totally insignificant. In this exploration I was assisted by further facts, not noted by Williams, about the social exchange between the initiate and the *aguma*. Before the latter recites his war deeds, he will hand his limepot to the initiate. He then says something like: 'You are holding my limepot. Therefore promise not to beat your wife.' There are a good number of such vows the initiate must take. They no doubt vary a good deal from place to place, but generally cover a wide range of rules of social exchange, of the same type as are listed by Williams and by Chinnery and Beaver (1915: 76). Later, when the *aguma* offers the *otohu*, he does so *on condition* that the initiate keeps his vows. Persons who violate some rule of social behaviour are likely to be warned by fellow-villagers in terms such as: 'You had better be careful – you held the limepot.'

We thus find that *aguma* and sorcerer have something more in common than their provenance from the same set of villages. They are concerned with two interrelated aspects of social control: the *aguma* obtains certain pledges from a person and the sorcerer punishes that person if he breaks his pledges. It is significant that these guardians of moral values live in places which are on the fringe of the universe of friendly social relations maintained by any village. One may visualise this universe in widening concentric circles moving from friendly villages, to sorcery villages, to usually hostile villages. While the usually hostile villages tended to yield an occasional marriage partner obtained through abduction, the sorcery villages represent the outer limit of the area from which a person would ordinarily obtain wives, and therefore affinal and uterine kin.

It has often been remarked that guardians of moral values tend to be situated on the fringe of the social universe (e.g. see Gluckman 1965: 100–1). In view of what we already know of Orokaiva social relations (see model 20) we would expect that the initiand would normally have no direct significant social relations with his *aguma*. Usually his relations, if any, would be through one or more intermediaries. In the absence of such intermediaries, the initiand would see no reason why he should believe the *aguma's* recital of his war deeds nor his claims to greatness and why he should honour pledges made to a stranger. Williams shows that rude questioning of the *aguma's* authority, by young men in a position analogous to that of the initiand, was a regular part of the ritual (1930: 190). There is, however, a counterpart to these challenges which appears less clearly from Williams' account. I was told it was not enough for the *aguma* to protest his own war deeds; there must also be other war leaders present who will affirm that the *aguma* is speaking the truth. One gathers from Williams' account that there were two of these at the ceremony he attended (p. 189–90). He quotes one *aguma* as saying that these two intermediaries 'remembered his exploits better than he did himself'. The *aguma* then pretended to use these men as prompters. Whatever the two intermediaries were called upon to say or do,

A [See p. 135, Cat. 431--Analyst]

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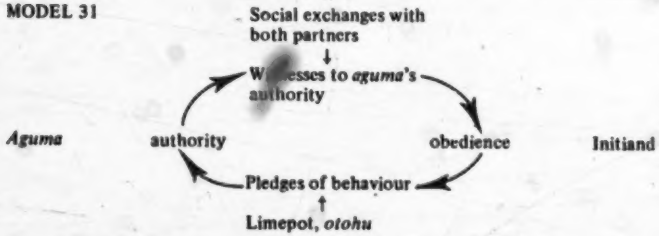
they would always add credibility to the words of the *aguma*, as their authority would not be questioned by the initiand.

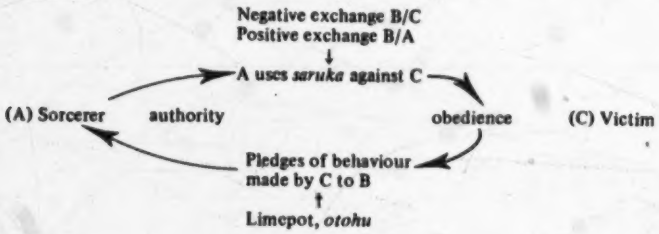
The effect of this ritual would be to place the *aguma* in a very exalted position. The initiand would see that someone he regarded as an authority figure deferred humbly and showed his admiration to the *aguma*. The *aguma's* social distance thus increased the awe initiands felt before him and made the pledges all the more binding. We may express this transaction by the following exchange cycle:

MODEL 31




If the initiate should later break a pledge, the wronged person may call upon a sorcerer whose position I have suggested to be symbolically equivalent to that of the *aguma*. The Orokaiva never seems to use sorcery directly upon the person he wishes to punish, but always goes to a village on the periphery of his social universe, where he retains a sorcerer for a fee. Later on, when the victim of the sorcery (C) recognises the wrong he has done to the angered person (B), he will offer the latter some reparation. The latter will then ask the sorcerer (A) to cease pursuing the victim. We note that the exchange cycle thus set up is homologous with model 31:

MODEL 32



121 that studied at Inonda - was the relationship between localized
125 landholding patrilineal groups and their resources. The first group selected was that known as Jegase, which is intermediate in size among the 3 major groups in the village; in order to free our sample of possible bias in its age-structure and other physical characteristics, we also included the smallest group, the Timumu. This addition happened to bring the size of the sample to 50 persons.

125 The inclusion of the second discrete patrilineal group slightly broadened the base of our enquiries, but study of the Jegase provided the most significant data on the subject of land tenure. The sample was made up of 12 households, 8 of them Jegase and 4 Timumu; 10 of the 12 houses contained a nuclear family, 1 contained a widower living alone and the other a widower and 2 close
[614] kinsmen dependent on him (see Genealogy on p.52 for links between households). The third major group in the village is known as Seho. Jegase, Timumu and Seho are in fact the names of 3 non-exogamous dispersed patrilineal clans[1] with branches also in other villages containing such fragments of several clans. These fragmented descent units are social categories (see Ch.3) whose members do not have 'ipso facto obligations of a specific kind'.[2]

121 Our observations at Sivepe were supplemented by less systematic
[124] interviews with other villagers in what we will call 'the neighbourhood'. We find this term convenient, taking Sivepe as a point of reference, for a region which includes the villages whose members interact closely with Sivepe in the spheres of interest which we examined. It is not a social group even though there is only a small proportion of these villages outside the territory of the group named Awala.[3]

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[829] [1] Often referred to as clans by the people themselves, so that, with the possible exception of orope (see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:17), 'clan' seems to be the only current general term in local usage, which designates a distinct type of grouping based on descent.

[2] See definition of 'clan' in Royal Anthropological Institute, 1960.

● 628 [3] Its perimeter is about the same as the limits of the outermost of the local 'zones' within which a notable majority of Sivepe marriages have been concentrated over 3 genealogical generations (see p.48-9). There are suggestions of a tendency at Sivepe for intervillage visiting, associated generally with direct or secondary economic interests, to be confined to villages within such a spatial range, quite small compared with the wide network of similar links in the case of Inonda (P. Krinks and E. Waddell: personal communication).

628 701 166 There were ordinarily no persons who could command the allegiance of the tribe as a whole, nor was there any status with authority to effect the settlement of disputes between different subgroups or their individual members. Sometimes persistent intratribal conflicts led to short-term migration or to a splinter-group's secession from the tribe. However, these disturbances were very minor in comparison with the 'flight, dispersal and migration' in general resulting from incessant intertribal[1] feuds (see p.35).[2]

701 Kinship and local affiliation together were the basic principles by which subgroups of the raiding party seem to have been drawn up during attack and on which leaders[2] within the party based their rights to command specific combatants.

721 728 Retaliation was as important a motive for isoro as was individual and group prestige. It was 'rare if not impossible' for tribes to settle hostilities amicably by compensation, exchange of hostages or other means (Williams 1930:166, 170 ff., 311 ff.).

721 Conquering groups operating from within their established territorial frontiers seem seldom to have set out with the express aim of acquiring new land for settlement or even to have used the vacated land when they forced their enemies to withdraw.[3] Nevertheless, the Aiga people (mostly the Timbariundi, i.e., wanderers), for instance, are known to have migrated to their present territory by expelling another tribe and settling on their land.

The high value of the land on the volcanic slopes occupied by the people called 'Periho' and 'Wasida' (by Plant and Williams,

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1 'Intertribal', 'interclan', etc., are terms which we apply to relationships between any - i.e., not necessarily all - representatives of the units in question.

2 In the course of a raid, some of these leaders would assume the role of isoro ambo jigari, a man who should rally the slowest of his company in attack and protect the stragglers during withdrawal; the other class of leader was known as isoro kiti jigari, that is, a warrior who ordinarily directs raiding groups from in front and takes the initiative in tactical decisions. Kiti jigari is sometimes a term for leaders in ordinary village activities (kiti, the first, foremost; jigari, one who directs and controls an enterprise); cf. pp.51-3. See also Williams (W.23) who was told that in pre-contact times a renowned member of Sarahu clan would lead from behind in attacks by men of the Jegasi-Sarahu villages (of the 'Wasida' tribe).

3 As the Sangara did to the Divinikovari, for instance (Williams O.12).

A, [See Category 721, p. 35--Analyst]

721 see p.6) and by the Sangara would have been common knowledge but the neighbouring tribes on the plains were well endowed with land. Land shortage and territorial ambitions were seldom likely to have been sufficient to induce warriors to conquer new lands from traditional enemies.[1]

628 721 Williams (1930:151) says that the Hunjovarehu (including the people of Divinikovari) and the 'Wasida' people to their south are 2 subdivisions of 1 tribe but in other contexts (1930:166) he mentions that these 2 groups carried out organized raids on each other's territory; these were frequent and were characteristic only of intertribal feuds. He refers also to the 'Wasida' as traditional enemies of the Divinikovari 'tribe' (O.9). Monckton too (Territory of Papua 1904-5:36) had reported that the 'Wasida' used frequently to raid ' the low-lying villages of the Kumusi' including the Nimanakwari (or Divinikovari) 'tribe'; indeed, the ancestors of some of the men at Sivepe were killed while fighting the Divinikovari, Togahau and Asigi people to the north. 'The people known as Hunjovarehu' and 'the people of the Periho group', according to Plant, should not be regarded as members of the same tribe (1951: Appendix 4). Informants said that their ancestors were not involved in the isoro which the Wasida villagers fought with the Orokaiva of Sairope - and at times with those at Baropi (Wairope) - and with the people of the Managalas Mountains to the south (see Reay 1953:118; Williams W.23).

Our reason for arguing that all the mountain Orokaiva - the Sangara as well as the Periho (i.e., Wasida) - constituted 1 tribe, is that the basic criterion for identifying a tribe as a distinct unit is its members' joint political activity, as Williams says (1925:406; 1930:156) - the 'almost perpetual state of war with its neighbours'.

619 721 634 In feuds with neighbouring Orokaiva of tribes to the north, members of the Awala District had regular alliances with people as distant as Koropata to the west and the Sangara to the east. However, on no occasion known to us did the mountain Orokaiva as a whole combine in defence or attack en masse. It is even unlikely that the Periho 'welded themselves into a solid group', which Plant (1951:3) claims 'was based on political necessity', defended a recognized common boundary and combined to conduct isoro as a unit.[2] At the time of pacification they alone must

[1] This is true of almost all New Guinea societies, whatever the extent of their political organization: exceptions include Chimbu and the Mae Enga (see Brown and Brookfield 1959:42).

[2] Plant's inclusion of the Wairopi and Sairopi districts in the tribe (see p.6) is hard to reconcile with statements by Williams (W.23) and by Reay (1953:118).

474 241 of Orewo lineage of the Kurou clan of Yega, who had been educated to Standard IV at Gona Mission School and had spent the year before the war working at Bunting's store at Cape Killerton. Just prior to the war he joined the Papuan Infantry Battalion and became a corporal. During the war an Australian soldier with whom he was friendly convinced him of the possibility of raising money from short-term crops. The Administration had introduced copra-making much earlier, but prices were low and there was little enthusiasm for the crop.

Even before the formation of the G.P.T., Samuel had convinced most of the Yega of the desirability of co-operative farming. Subscriptions were called for: money was available from war damage compensation and most Yega households subscribed from $10 to $20, each person contributing as much as he wished.

Clearing bush for the co-operative gardens was begun at four sites in mature rain forest at Ononda, Garara, Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari. Little information was available on the subsequent operations at Mumburada and Ingaba-Betari but some details were obtained for the Ononda and Garara projects.

Samuel placed an ex-serviceman comrade in charge at Ononda. A site was selected by Nixon Kairembora, the Yega 'land custodian', [628] between Ononda and Epa Creeks.[1] Meanwhile some of the neighbouring Beuru and Ahora people obtained Samuel's consent to join the Yega in their co-operative efforts, paid him money and were permitted by him to assist with the clearing of bush at Ononda.[2]

[439] Crops were planted at Ononda by co-operative effort for two years. The man in charge says that good crops of peanuts were [454] grown and sold to the Administration, being taken by headload to the coast, thence by canoe to Cape Killerton. The money from the sale of these crops was paid to Samuel Ungega who banked it at Higaturu. Unfortunately, no records of the amounts obtained are now available.[3] Large quantities of sweet potatoes were also

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[1] For the history of this land see pages 30 and 48 and Fig.7 of the previous article.

[423] [464] [2] When asked whether the fact that the Ahora and Beuru had cleared bush at Ononda would strengthen their claims to the land the Yega replied in the negative. They stated that non-Yega were employed only in the capacity of workmen: they were paid in produce at the time and had no further rights.

[768] [3] One of Samuel's brothers, who was a young boy at the time of Samuel's death in the Mt Lamington eruption, said he remembered numbers of Samuel's books being burned and thrown away in the bush when relatives went through his belongings.

166 people were shifted about two miles eastward to a site adjacent to the wartime Inonda airstrip. People of several other villages (including Ajoro, the home of the Tandai'undi) were also resettled in the same area for safety. We will refer to this as Inonda II. During 1952, when the danger of further eruption was considered to be over, they shifted their village to Inonda III which was approximately a mile closer to their planting lands. In 1956 the people who had been temporarily resettled for safety at Inonda moved back to their respective villages. The local people then moved to their present site, Inonda IV, which is midway between their food gardens and their coffee plots.

## Demographic and social structure

614 At the time of our survey, of a total population of 45 living in 8 households, 23 were members of the Andiriha sub-clan and 5 members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. The remaining 17 belonged to other clans. Of these 17, 8 were wives of members of the Inonda sub-clans and another 7 were relatives of these wives. The remaining 2 were the children of the sister of an Andiriha man who had come with their mother on a visit.(1) The number of persons in Inonda households ranged from 3 to 10 with an average of 5.6. There were 4 nuclear, 1 polygamous and 3 extended families.

The term 'clan' will be used to refer to the large patrilineal Orokaiva descent groups, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor but cannot trace it in fact. Each clan has a common name and a common plant emblem or erahu.(2) The clan name (frequently that of the founding ances-

(1) Of the 17 persons who were not members of the Inonda sub-clans, 4 came from the Kongaria clan of Urio village and 7 from the Oremba'undi and other clans of Hoboritu village. This reflects the marriage links with these villages as six of the nine wives came from Urio or Hoboritu. Marriage links with Urio are said to have been maintained for more than two generations, but those with Hoboritu began in the last decade.

[582] [628]

(2) Sometimes known as lavahu or lavatu. For a detailed description of the nature and function of the erahu see Williams, 1925. The erahu of the Andiriha clan is tinari, any plant tied in a particular knot.

things from any area of second growth it appeared from our observations that people seldom took wood from second growth land other than areas which they themselves had previously planted. Permissive members of the sub-clans exercise the same hunting and foraging rights as primary members.

Contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans (or their husbands in the case of women), are entitled to hunt on Inonda lands, though they are expected to notify the villagers before doing so. Contingent members of the sub-clans do not in fact come to forage. During our stay one contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan and the husband of another came to hunt on several occasions. Both live in villages within two hours walk of Inonda. It is said that those from further away rarely come, and then only to acquire meat for an important feast.

On rare occasions, when they have inadequate meat for a forthcoming feast which involves the whole clan, clansmen from other villages come to Inonda and make a formal request for permission to hunt there. They remain for several days and hunt with the help of the local people, smoke the meat and then return home. The Inonda people are then invited to partake of the feast in the village which is holding the celebration, and will be given gifts of garden produce on their departure.

Only three Inonda men exercise hunting rights outside Inonda land. The first two are the members of the Jego'undi sub-clan. They were given hunting rights to a piece of land which abuts the Inonda land to the south-east by their mother's brother shortly before his death. He lived in the adjacent village of Urio and had no children of his own. The other Inonda man with hunting rights outside the lands of the sub-clans is the councillor. He is the eldest surviving child of the previous sub-clan leader, and it also may be significant that he has attained a higher standard of education then any other member of the sub-clan. He was given hunting rights to a portion of land which abuts the Inonda lands to the south-west, by his mother's father who was also the man who gave him his name. The donor was an elder of the Tandai'undi clan of Ajoro village and made the

423 transfer at a feast shortly after the grandson finished his school-
614 ing. Along with the rights he was given the obligation to look
224 after the land and ensure that nobody else uses it. In fact, he informs us, the only person whom he permits to hunt there is his adoptive father.

423 All Inonda people, along with all members of the
221 Andiriha and Jego'undi clans who live elsewhere, claim the right to hunt on the 'ancestral' land at Aramba. This right is in fact seldom exercised, though the Inonda people say that they have paid visits to Aramba on several occasions in recent years to collect fruits and nuts, and have done a little hunting and foraging during their stay.

During the dry season hunting drives are sometimes held on the Inonda grasslands which are burned off for the
● 628 purpose. As a considerable number of people are needed to undertake such a drive, neighbouring villages are invited to participate in the hunt.

423 Fishing rights: For the purpose of fishing rights,
226 the Girua river is divided into sections, each of which is
621 associated with a particular local group. Rights to the section running downstream from a point near the Inonda airstrip are held by the people of Doboduru village. From Inonda airstrip upstream to a point near the new Girua bridge, rights are held by the Inonda people. Upstream from the new Girua bridge as far as Hombere creek, rights are held by the Warau'undi clan and thereafter sections are held by the Ajoro, Sewa and Bofu people respectively. The boundary of each section of the river is also the boundary of the surrounding land.

423 The Inonda portion of the river is held jointly by the
226 Andiriha and Jego'undi sub-clans and any primary member of
614 either sub-clan may fish there. Men who are secondary or contingent members of the Inonda sub-clans, and the husbands of women who are contingent members, have a limited right to fish in the Girua river, for while they cannot fish there without

permission, custom does not permit of permission being withheld unless the circumstances are exceptional. On two occasions during our stay the river was fished by men married to Andiriha women, and once by a contingent member of the Andiriha sub-clan who lives at Hohota. No payment is made for this privilege, not is any part of the catch given to the host village.

On rare occasions Andiriha people from distant villages have been given the right to fish in the Girua river to obtain food to garnish a forthcoming feast. The procedure is similar to that outlined for hunting under the same circumstances. Adjacent to the Inonda land on the north side of the Girua river is a government resettlement scheme. The settlers, most of whom are strangers to the area, sometimes fish in the river after obtaining permission from the Inonda elders. No direct payment is made but there are indications of other forms of reciprocity between the settlers and the village.

Rights to that part of the Sambogo river which flows through Inonda are not held jointly by the sub-clans. There are five divisions in the river, each of which is held by one or other of the lineages. One particular pool is held by an individual, the sole surviving child of the man who is said to have acquired rights to it by clearing the adjacent virgin bush and gardening there. Since the Paru lineage died out the rights to their part of the river have been taken over by the Joremba'embo. Men often fish alone, but frequently take other villagers (not necessarily of the same lineage) to fish with them. When a fish drive is held during the dry season all the villagers fish together.

The rights of secondary and contingent members in the Sambogo river are held only in relation to that particular part of it which is associated with the lineage to which they trace their relationship. One permissive member of the Andiriha sub-clan is allowed to fish in either of the places where his daughters' husbands have rights. Small groups of women sometimes fish in places where their husbands' lineages hold rights.

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

731 The vulcanologist, from the facts already at his disposal, was able to warn the administration that a prolonged phase of violent explosive activity was to be expected. This is characteristic of Peléan eruptions: at Mont Pélée paroxysmal activity lasted for four months and St. Vincent produced powerful explosions ten months after its initial activity. Hence, the refugees would be in danger were they to return to their villages. A generous area was therefore at once tentatively marked off as uninhabitable; this stretched from Inonda, Higarata to Hongi to Agenahambo, to the Kumusi and in a wide circle round the rest of the mountain. Special permission was needed to enter this restricted area; thus, the refugees would be forbidden, by regulation, to return to their homes.

This policy lies at the core of the entire resettlement scheme: the inhabitants, first of the camps, later of the resettlement villages, never exercised a free choice of residence but were kept by a benevolent government from returning to places where they [628] might come to further harm. Clearly, no other course was open to the Australian government: in its own eyes and in the eyes of the world it was responsible for the well-being of the Orokaiva survivors; the continuing danger of the volcano was a scientific fact of which the Orokaiva could not possibly be aware nor could they be expected to believe it; there were at that time no forms of political organisation such that Orokaiva leaders could have taken decisions on residence that would have been binding upon the people and such that the Australian government could have systematically approached and consulted them. The decision to relocate, therefore, from the beginning rested solely upon the Australian government. No Orokaiva participated in the discussions, held on 22 January, during which the policy was laid down. As a result of the discussions, officers went to the Sangara Estate, to Wasata, and to other centres of the affected population and transmitted the Administrator's instructions. If arguments were needed, they were clear enough and extremely cogent: the government expected further trouble at the mountain.

Section 5: The Decision to Relocate

121 Under this heading there are three aspects to consider: the
128 participants, the procedure and attitudes towards the necessity of relocation. In the previous section I have made it clear that only the administration participated in the decision-taking process; this
657 was in line with the then existing governmental structure. The local government councils which today might conceivably be involved in discussions did not yet exist in 1951. The only existing

361 In the period from January, 1951-1967, the location of the villages now known as Sivepe and Inonda changed several times. In [114] the Sivepe area settlements had always been unstable. Rimoldi has made a valiant attempt to reconstruct shifts of residence from the time of European contact to the present; involved though his reconstruction is, it probably tells only part of the story. In 50 years, the groups now represented in Sivepe had between them been involved in shifts of residence between a series of 14 village sites within an area of about two square miles adjoining the Sohu [659] River. It is clear that the government carried out some village consolidations in the district after the second world war, but before the eruption. Most of the people now living at Sivepe were, at that time, shifted to a village called Pamba, which had been occupied earlier by the Seho clan only. After the eruption, Pamba was at first reoccupied, but soon the village was shifted almost a mile away, to a place which was called Sivepe. This new village (see Map V)[A] differed from the pre-eruption one in layout, method of house construction and spacing of the dwellings. It conformed to the model advocated by the administration and observed by the refugees when they were at Wairopi and Ilimo. In 1965, Sivepe was shifted to its present site, and higher building standards and better sanitation were again introduced (see Map VI).[B]

Both these shifts were connected with topographical relationships and social relationships outside the village. The first of [578] them, in 1952, seems to have been precipitated by a quarrel between [628] the Timuma clan of Pamba and the resettlement village of Kongohambo, which then had a population of almost 1,000, over garden damage caused by pigs. Sivepe was much farther away from Kongohambo than Pamba. The second shift was in the opposite direction. It was a move which brought the village closer to the road, closer to the mission, and the reduced distance from Kongohambo no longer mattered as this is now a village of average size, with which good relations exist. The people who lived in Kongohambo in 1952 have returned to their homes closer to the mountain.

361 These shifts in village sites are accounted for by almost a 657 superfluity of reasons. Rimoldi was told of almost all the shifts he recorded that they were made upon the instructions of the government. I was told of shifts that were made because of deaths 361 attributed to sorcery and because of quarrels between neighboring villages which were too close together for comfort. I witnessed [628] one shift after a death of an old man where sorcery was not [754] suspected (as he was old) but being unbaptised he could not be buried in the Christian cemetery which made people fearful of his ghost. The population of this village shifted to nearby Hohorita, [764] a move which was in any case favoured by the government. A reason [775] that was also sometimes given was that the houses were all old and the place was becoming unsanitary. A reason never explicitly given, but perhaps as important as any other is the Orokaiva's dislike for

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 5--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 6--Analyst]

## CHAPTER III: Social Environment

### Section 1: Opportunity for Contact with Outsiders

The experience of the eruption led to outside contacts that would not otherwise have occurred. These outside contacts obviously were among the basic causes of social changes arising out of the eruption. In the present study, it is by no means easy to distinguish between outside contacts which arose out of the eruption, directly or indirectly, and those which existed prior to the eruption or were the result of social changes unconnected with the eruption. But before we can address ourselves to this substantive question, it must first be clear what we shall mean by "outside contacts." The term "outsiders" is used repeatedly in Professor Barnett's specification of the variables to be included in the cooparative study. What, exactly, are outsiders? In order to answer this question, I have to offer a few generalizations about Orokaiva social structure for which the documentation cannot be included here. A full treatment is given in my doctoral dissertation.

We may view the Orokaiva picture of his social universe as a set of widening concentric circles: family, local clan group, village, the clan within limits of kinship recognition, the consanguineal group within limits of kinship recognition, a group of contiguous friendly villages, the wider set of persons with which an individual entertains institutionalized friendship links, while beyond these limits we may discern even wider circles which become evident in special circumstances. This is an entirely ego-centred model. I saw no evidence of groups of villages which displayed a true corporate unity. Thus village A would have close relations with villages B and C, but village B would not have similarly close bonds with A and C. More likely, villages B and C would treat each other with marked reserve and B would have close relations with A and D; C would have close relations with A and E.

Patrilineages were very shallow in genealogical depth. Though the kinship structure would need to be classified as predominantly patrilineal, I noted a strong consanguineal emphasis. Bonds based on real or fictional siblingship, affinity, matrilineality, institutionalized friendship and--above all--residence and an uninterrupted flow of reciprocal transactions were stronger than all but the closest patrilineal bonds. Though residence was predominantly patri-virilocal, there were many non-agnates in local groups sharing the same clan name; inheritance was not necessarily in the patriline.

571 The social universe of the different families diverged markedly from one another; the small number of extended families composing a minor patrilineage (marked by the possession of a common plant emblem) would share each other's social network and obligations to a large extent, but the same could not even be said for clansmen of different plant emblem groups. In such a culture, the term "outsider" must be situationally defined. For certain situations, only those who share a clan emblem are insiders; for other situations, only clansmen; for others, only residents of the same village, while I can also think of situations where the group of "insiders" embraces a much larger group. We may list the following set of widening concentric circles, as useful for the present study:

(a) Closely allied villages (especially Sivepa, Carombi, Binduta)
(b) The Sasembata district: defined as comprising Sasembata parish or the three Sasembata local government council wards. This is an area close to the road from Kendata to Boru, and never more than an hour's walking distance away from it.
(c) The wider solidarity group to which Williams and several other earlier authors have referred as the "Waseta tribe" (see map)
(d) The indigenous population of Ilimo camp
(e) The "Orokaiva" people
(f) Papuans and New Guineans other than Orokaiva, without special administrative roles
(g) Papuans and New Guineans with offices in the administration, and the Church
(h) Chinese traders
(i) Persons referred to as "taupa" (white man)
(k) The Americans (a special, and by this time somewhat mythical category)
(l) White men believed to be dead ancestors who have returned

For the purpose of this study, I have avoided systematic reference to social structure and emphasized residence rather than kinship. The Inonda pattern resembles, in general, that of Sivepa, except that the sparseness of the population makes the immediate [628] social environment somewhat simpler. Sivepa has significant relations of one sort or another with dozens of villages; Inonda's social universe hardly comprises more than half a dozen, and small ones at that. On the maps Inonda is shown as part of the Sauaha "tribe," but Crocombe and Hogbin treat Sauaha as simply another clan in the vicinity and it is likely that the larger military grouping of which they formed part were Monckton's dreaded Dobuduru.

121 It is our task to consider changes in the patterns of contact with each of these 11 categories of outsiders (as between

121 January, 1951 and 1967), both in Sivepa and Inonda. In our treatment of the patterns of contact, we need to consider the following variables specified in the Barnett memorandum (1-C #1,2,3,4,5,6,7): role and status of persons involved in transactions, the occasions of contacts and transactions, their purpose, frequency, degree of formality, degree of affectivity, the fiduciary element present in the transactions, their locations; we have to specify how comprehensive the exchanges were (did they involve affinity, friendship?), who were the initiators and what view each of the partners in these exchanges took of the other. In dealing with every one of the categories of outsiders we must, in addition, inquire whether these categories are actually homogeneous; it will often be found that we have to differentiate within the categories. For instance, we have to look whether the Orokaiva distinguish between the different roles, statuses and ethnic origins of persons belonging to the category "taupa." The most convenient way of presenting these data will be by taking each of the 11 categories in turn, dealing with all the variables that seem appropriate to that category.

Section 2: Contacts with Closely Allied Villages

626 The concept of a "closely allied" village is a difficult
[621] one: it is not often, in these days of peace, that a village
[571] really acts as a corporate unit, so that contacts between villages tend to be, in actual fact, contacts between individuals in these villages who are linked by agnatic, consanguineal, affinal or friendship ties. Out of such ties, inter-village contacts may arise. For instance one village may give a feast for another village and here the unit invited is definitely very often the village; or one village may come to the aid of another after there has been a death and bring food to all members of the bereaved
[764] village. The most significant inter-village contacts--those which would occur in time of war when one village went to the aid of another--could no longer be observed, but the ritual immediately after a death resembled that customary when a village was attacked by an enemy. The conch-shell was blown and the closely allied villages would come to the aid of the bereaved one. Hardly anyone would stay behind, if the death was in a really closely allied village. Thus hardly anyone was left in Hohorita, with 400 inhabitants, when an old man died at Sombou which was a closely allied village. On the other hand, if the link between two villages is slightly less close, only those families with kinship or friendship connections will go to the bereaved village. In order to be "closely allied" in the sense just suggested, a village should be geographically close (not much more than a mile away, in the cases of Sivepa, Inonda,

628 Hohorita), there should be a great many linkages between individuals, and there should be no major dissension, between the villages, for the time being.

I have already mentioned that each village has its own range of "closely allied" settlements: the Sivepe people would always mention Garombi and Binduta, while some families would also mention Sasembata, Kongohambo and Torogota; nobody would ever mention Isoge. But in Garombi and Binduta, Isoge was classified as a "closely allied" village. It was the same in Inonda, which mentioned Ajoro A and Musou, while Ajoro mentioned Inonda and Hohota (see Map VIII). A

It is not easy to find a single criterion by which a village may be classified as "closely allied." One approach might be to count the number of informants who have close consanguines and/or affines in the village under consideration. On that basis (see Table 9) the ten "closest" villages to Sivepe would be: Sasembata, Garombi, Awala, Hamburata, Korogombata (i.e., Binduta), Hojane, Binduta, Isivita, Togahou and Soroputa. Now these are not anything like the ten villages geographically closest to Sivepe. Togahou and Isivita are both situated outside the Waseta tribal district as defined by Williams. The list does not include Kongohambo which is less than one mile from the present site of Sivepe village.

On the other hand, if frequency of social contacts be a measure, the number of contacts with another village is determined to a large extent by geographical distance. Though only three Sivepe informants had first or second degree consanguines in Kongohambo, and only one Sivepe girl, to my knowledge, was married in Kongohambo, there were more distant links which were assiduously maintained and the closer links led to far more visits than, for instance, the links with Togahou, which was 15 miles away.

628 If we compare the contacts between "closely allied" villages
731 as between 1951 and 1967, the most striking difference is the effect of newly formed organizational units in which certain villages are administratively grouped together. Before the eruption, there was a great deal of contact between persons in these villages, through individual kinship and friendship links, but collective contacts remained confined to feasts, deaths and the settlement of
[582] quarrels. Individual contacts, presumably, were as frequent then as they are now, as it is characteristic of the "closely allied" villages that marriages were regularly contracted between them, so that most people would have some affinal or maternal kin in the allied village.

628 After the eruption, however, several modern organizations of
631 a range wider than the village were set up under Australian influence.
731 The building and maintaining of the Sasembata mission station, and the holding of regular Sunday services there, led to regular institutionalized cooperation between the villages. The men built
[794] the school and the hospital together, the children went to school
[797] together, the people worshipped and attended church festivals

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

628 631 731 [794] [797] together, the church council, with representatives from all the villages, deliberated together. This cooperation was a gradual development occurring over the years under consideration; it will be traced in detail in a later chapter. The setting up of wards under the Higaturu Local Government Council led to further occasions for formal cooperation between villages belonging to the same ward. It was characteristic of both the church and the government council organizations that they divided the Sasembata district into areas with definite boundaries, each area comprising several villages. The church recognized two such divisions, the government council three. I have already emphasized that the idea of such boundaries [192] was a novel one (see Map IX).[A] It is beginning to have two kinds of effect: first, the strengthening of bonds between villages within the same ward or the same section of a mission parish (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Isoge, which up to now have not been closely allied) and secondly, the loosening of bonds between villages divided by the boundaries which are now being defined (e.g., bonds between Sivepe and Kongohambo, hitherto closely allied, but now separated by administrative procedures).

628 423 578 These generalizations will be documented below; my task at present is to consider contacts between Sivepe and closely allied villages arising out of the eruption and relocation. Here inter-village cooperation was a far less significant factor than inter-village competition, especially for use of the land. One of the deep anxieties of the Orokaiva in the refugee camps and later in resettlement villages such as Irihambo, Awala, Kongohambo was that if the people did not return to their land, some others might decide to occupy it and it might be impossible to dislodge them. This was a very real danger because neither in 1951 nor at present is there in existence a land register from which the ownership of individual or village parcels may be unequivocally established. The Orokaiva plant boundary trees round their blocks of land and [685] there is a taboo on interfering with these. This is not merely a supernatural taboo; interference with a boundary justifies a killing. It is far less clear, however, just what rights a person holds in a particular parcel. As this is a crucial issue in the whole history of Orokaiva resettlement, I should explain this in some detail.

423 613 [621] Crocombe and Hogbin provide an excellent example of the ambiguity of Orokaiva land rights. After wars with the Sangara, both the Andiriha and the Tandai'undi clans were driven from their villages and settled down together in a village named Sembogo. Later, some of the Andiriha set up Inonda on land to which the Tandai'undi had superior rights. At present, this land is used by Andiriha, and upon inquiring into the legal basis of tenure I was given the following explanation. Two daughters of the Tandai'undi owner's lineage married into Andiriha and were given the Inonda [428] land to "look after." As is usual among Orokaiva, this right to

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 8--Analyst]

731 with some knowledge of anthropology. All these authors, following
361 F. E. Williams, had the impression that Orokaiva clans are corporate
423 groups and that the local clan groups are segments of these. Thus,
657 Plant and the others imagined that the Jegase of Sui (near Awala) would share their land without reservations with the Jegase of Sivepe, that the Seho of Awala would share their land with the Seho of Sivepe, and so on. The Orokaiva, however, knew that their position in the resettlement villages would be weak indeed unless they retained their own village holdings. This weakness will become more apparent from my discussion of the resettlement village of Humuni in a later chapter.

628 423 The closely allied villages, therefore, are not only a source of cooperation but also competition. Seho returned and had no trouble reasserting their rights; they accepted with good grace that their neighbors had built their village partly on Seho land and that the mission station had partly been built on it, but they jealously guarded the rest of their holdings. Let us now consider the specific variables listed in the previous section.

628 Transactions between members of closely allied villages occur in kinship and friendship roles; decisions affecting the villages as corporate groups are taken at a meeting where all adult men of the affected villages are present, and have a right to speak. Visits between the villages by individuals occurred almost every day; formal meetings involving Sivepe and one of the closely allied villages occurred, for one reason or another, about once a month. The occasion might be a death, a bride price, a minor dispute, some government or council or church project. Contacts were equally close between young and old, males and females. Meetings occurred in the villages, or, more casually, outside them. There is much affection between people of closely allied villages and one finds that disputes between them, though giving rise to a great deal of heated oratory, are not rashly allowed to get out of hand. The disputes I witnessed were all resolved amicably and serious breaches carefully avoided. On the other hand, neighboring villages were always treated with much reserve. Before the eruption, they never ate together except under the formal conditions of a feast; even today, when a feast is held at the mission station for all the villages in the parish, each village sits apart in a separate group. When people from different villages eat together in a formal feast, each village house has its own little group of guests, who are either kinsmen or in a partnership relation. Transactions between such persons nonetheless have a greater fiduciary element than transactions with other outsiders. Sorcery between closely allied villages occurs, but only, so I was told, by the employment of a professional sorcerer from a more distant village. No Garoubi man would act as sorcerer, so I understand, to kill a Sivepe man, but men from Isoge or Kendata could be found for such a service.

[578] [574] [754]

Section 3: Other Contacts Within the Sasembata District

628 As soon as we move beyond the closely allied villages, there is a sharp distinction between the behaviour appropriate with kinsmen or regular partners and friends resident in those villages, and the far more cautious and formal behaviour appropriate when dealing with all others. There are far fewer transactions between Sivepe and Isoge or Kendata than with Garombi or Kongohambo, and other close villages. But I believe that the frequency of such contacts fluctuates according to contingencies. For instance, Isoge and Sivepe are now expected to cooperate in both church and [178] local government council activities. This is definitely a somewhat novel experience. One clear example can be given of the changes in attitude this has produced over the last 16 years.

797 When the Sasembata mission station was built in 1952-1953, 794 all the villages contained in the parish collaborated. Miss White's 628 diaries show how this cooperation was organised. Miss White, who was in charge of the station, arranged with leaders from each of the villages what tasks they would be responsible for. For instance, the nearby Sasembata village would build the teacher's house, Garombi and Isoge would finish the hospital ward, Sivepe and Binduta would pull down the old pre-eruption Standard 1-3 classroom building, Duve and Totogota would finish the standard 4 building, Kongohambo build another schoolroom while Hamburata would cut and saw the wood for the desks. (28 December, 1952) Evidently, each group would work one day a week--and each group on a different day, as I understand.

653 The hospital building was duly finished in bush materials 628 and in 1966, while I was in the field, the time had come to pull it down and renew it. The Australian teacher in charge of the [759] station was unable to organise this work. There was, however, a Papuan medical assistant in charge of the hospital who was efficient and popular. On the occasion he treated the sore leg of a Sasembata man who was a carpenter. The man offered to build the assistant a "house," i.e., a hospital. He collected 20 men from Isoge, Garombi, Sivepe, Binduta, Hamburata and his own village. Together they built the hospital in a few weeks, working together every day. Often there were more than 20. When it was finished, he did not think it was strong enough. It was pulled down and rebuilt with more substantial studs.

The main difference between the building programmes of 1952 and 1966 lies in the manner in which the work was organised. In 1952, the largest effective cooperating group was the village. The mission was able to draw on the services of several villages, but only if they worked separately. In 1966, an Orokaiva builder, drawn from one village, was able to control and lead the work of a group recruited from all the villages of the Northwestern half of the parish acting as a coordinated team.

628 Similar cooperation occurred in other specific tasks such as the organising of a dance at Saiho hospital, the marking off of ward boundaries, etc. The groups cooperating in this manner had no history of multi-village economic organisation; this was an innovation. There was, however, a long history of military alliances, kinship and friendship links and feasting relations between contiguous villages. I collected the kindreds, up to two degrees removed, of 51 Sivepe informants, recording the birth place of each member. I found that the list of natal villages included 76 situated more than one mile from the site of New Sivepe, the great majority being situated in the area within a three mile radius. But strictly speaking, these were not consanguineal links between villages as the consanguineal networks of the various families differed considerably in location. Table 9^A shows just how individual these networks were but it also shows that there were 10 villages where more than 10% of Sivepe informants have consanguineal links: these are places with which relations have always been very close as periodic contact was maintained with all these consanguines; meeting them less than once a year would not be quite right. Today, meetings are much more frequent, as they tend to occur at the Sunday church services.

[124]

[794]

Section 4: Other Contacts with the Waseta "Tribe"

While contacts with people from within the Sasembata district are far more frequent than contacts outside it, there are only few families who do not have some kindred, with whom they can trace connection in the patri- or matriline, resident outside the Sasembata district. Considering that this district comprises an area of no more than some 20-25 square miles, such connections will occasion no surprise. I was struck, in fact, by the relatively small number of these connections--a full statistical analysis of the kindreds collected has not yet been completed, so that I cannot give statistics. They were with a relatively small number of villages, almost all from the district Williams marked as belonging to the Waseta tribe. Even the connections with these few villages have special explanations: incidents of warfare explain the present links with the Isivita villages and with Togahou. The links with Soroputa and Agenahambo are explained by the resettlement of these two villages which previously were situated much closer to Sivepe--their land actually adjoins Sivepe land. The close link with Awala (three miles from Sivepe) also has a special explanation beyond common clanship: Sivepe people were dependent upon Awala clay for the manufacture of pottery, an essential commodity until after the second world war. I have listed a few more villages which are "Waseta" but not "Sasembata," such as Waseta, Koropata, Ilimo, but these are mentioned only once or twice.

[438]
[323]

A [See Cat. 116, p. 214--Analyst]

628 Although these contacts were confined to relatively few villages, their part in village life was by no means insignificant. Some of these contacts arose out of affinal links and maternal links; others arose out of residual land rights held in these more distant villages. Unless an annual visit is made such rights are [631] apt to be extinguished. Only in one specific case--the marking out of the boundaries of the lower Sasembata local government council ward--was the contact between these villages a direct result of modern administrative exigencies.

628 I have already mentioned that Sivepe shared some land 423 boundaries with Soroputa and Agenahambo; these boundaries lay North of the Sohu River and were fairly indefinite. The blocks North of the river were used by Sivepe people of Soroputa ancestry, men with Soroputa or Agenahambo wives resident in Sivepe, and so on. The blocks were far away from the new Soroputa land Agenahambo [659] villages and therefore not cultivated except by Sivepe people. It was only in 1967 that the local government council decided that the boundaries of wards should be properly laid out and surveyed, as a first step to title improvement within the wards. The people of Sivepe, Agenahambo and Soroputa therefore had to meet together to agree upon the definition of boundaries which hitherto were allowed to shift as expediencies (such as marriages, migrations) arose.

It was rather interesting to compare how this boundaries problem was handled between different villages. The eastern boundary of the lower Sasembata ward was in fact the boundary between Sivepe and Kongohambo. These villages were in very close contact with each other, shared many kinship links, had mourned each other's dead and had feasted each other. When the boundaries had to be defined, the Sivepe men simply walked to Kongohambo with their bush knives, had a brief meeting with the Kongohambo men (half an hour, no more) and proceeded to cut the boundary. The principles by which they established their landmarks are irrelevant here. On the other hand, Soroputa was handled in a gingerly manner. A small delegation was sent, two men who "originally" came from Soroputa, who actually owned the land on the boundary, and who had kept in regular contact with Soroputa. It was felt that Soroputa might refuse if anyone else was sent. This choice of ambassadors was especially interesting as there had been an "election" for an organising committee to determine these boundaries. Though this committee consisted of one man each from Sivepe, Gorombo, Binduta and Isoge, the delegation that sent to Soroputa and Agenahambo was sent by the Sivepe representative and did not include a single representative, elected for this task.

628 This incident provides a good example of the role of the mediator which is crucially important in all inter-village contacts except those where alliance is very close. The two men sent on this delicate mission had no special qualifications except their

628 position in the structure: they held, one might say, a dual citizenship: effective citizenship in Sivepe where they lived, and residual citizenship in Soroputa and Agenahambo (in the case of one of them). Other Sivepe men held a similar kind of residual citizenship in various Isivita villages, e.g., Kiorota, Bagevoturu and others again in Awala, Koropata, etc. The marks of this residual citizenship were in each case: residual land rights (e.g., hunting and fishing rights, rights to the produce of certain trees), regular visiting, clearly traceable kinship links in the [621] patri- or matriline. In inter-village contacts we may therefore distinguish two types of role: the leader and the ambassador. The leader does not directly deal with the leader of another village, except if he happens to have residual citizenship there. Trust can be established only if the approach is made by a residual citizen who, by implication, is offering tangible security (his residual citizenship rights) for the truthfulness of his words and the honesty of his intentions.

It is in the relations with places such as Soroputa and Agenahambo that we can still see the traditional pattern of inter-village relations; within the Sasembata district itself, this pattern has become slightly obscured by the development of new forms of organisation under the influence of mission and government. Nonetheless, even in the type of relations I have just discussed, the pax Australiana has had its influence. If we survey the short list of inter-village linkages between Sivepe and the more distant parts of the Waseta "tribe" (and "more distant" effectively means no more here than over four miles away), we notice that in pre-contact times, wars with Waseta and Isivita were reported. The feast offered to Togahou by Sivepe in 1967 was an unprecendented event; the persons who mediated between the two villages to arrange the feast were descendants of war captives.

628 From the viewpoint of the present study, it is interesting 619 to inquire whether the eruption has had any effects that drew the Waseta "tribe" more closely together. This question is complicated [731] by the conflicting descriptions we have of Orokaiva "tribes." A full discussion of the nature of Orokaiva "tribes" would be out of place here. Rimoldi (1966: 29-37) brings forward some strong arguments why a division into tribes, as attempted by Chinnery and Beaver, and Williams, is a hazardous enterprise. I have already stated my own opinion that the Orokaiva view of his social world is a set of concentric circles of increasing radius. Thus, I would agree with Williams that there is an area, comprising several dozen villages, within which an Orokaiva practices what Williams calls "intra-group morality" (1930: 311). Normally these several dozen villages are those immediately surrounding the village of [582] residence. Within this area, marriages are contracted, cannibalistic [721] raids do not occur and fights tend to involve comparatively little [266] bloodshed. The circle of "intra-group morality" varies for every

village. Williams, in marking out his "Waseta tribe," with Waseta at the centre, excluded the Soroputa people from this "tribe" (vide Map X) A but "intra-group morality" definitely prevailed between Soroputa and neighboring Sivepa. There never were cannibalistic raids between these two villages, which included each other in their "intra-group morality" circle.

It so happens that the people who were brought together at Ilimo consisted preponderantly of members of what Williams called the "Waseta tribe." The only bonds existing between the members of this tribe were the individual kinship and friendship networks and the solidarity of "intra-group morality" circles. The camp was built as a set of separate villages, each under its own village constable, eating and living separately, though more closely together than formerly. I obtained from a number of Sivepa men a list of "friends" and inquired into the occasion when the friendship started; in no case did it start at Ilimo. On the other hand, the camps led to a number of marriages between people from different villages. This tendency was especially pronounced at Hohorita, which is understandable as so many refugees had lost their families during the eruption. In Sivepa I found one case of a man who married an Agenahambo woman whom he met at Ilimo.

If "tribal" solidarity was dubious before the Ilimo camp period, (the atmosphere of an evacuation camp was certainly not a suitable one for developing it. Both Belshaw and Keesing emphasize the anxiety of the inhabitants, their strong desire to return to their home villages, while I have also emphasized their distrust of "others" who might wish to occupy their land; these "others" would inevitably be other members of the Waseta "tribe," although perhaps the Europeans were likewise suspected of predatory aims. (For such suspicion, I do not, however, have evidence.)

A sense of district solidarity did tend to grow up after the eruption, but it can be traced to formal organisations in which Orokaiva occupied roles which brought them into contact with people from other villages. Sometimes these were élite roles, which will be considered below; sometimes they were roles open to anyone, such as that of worker in paid employment, patient in a hospital, pupil in a secondary or advanced primary school, participant in a large-scale public celebration, such as were held in Popondetta and Saiho.

The government is actively attempting to create among the Orokaiva larger solidary units than existed in the past. We may thus explain the various attempts that are made to bring Orokaiva people together in the local government council, at numerous sports meetings and celebrations such as at Christmas and New Year, and by any other expedient means. Without the popular acceptance of the local government council the establishing of a land boundary between Sivepa and Soroputa or Agenahambo, to stay with my previous example, would have been hard to imagine. Yet it

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 9--Analyst]

659 was accomplished without any European power bearer making his
571 appearance and any sense of compulsion being created--the people clearly considered the boundaries advocated by the government to be in the popular interest. Yet the bonds of solidarity this being formed do not strengthen the unity of the so-called Waseta tribe but the unity of the Higaturu council area as a whole.

628 In this section I have said little about Inonda, because
619 I did not have time to clarify what "tribe" Inonda really belongs. Williams' tribal map shows Inonda as Sauahs; Crocombe and Hogbin
[114] describe Sauahs, quite correctly, as a clan resident near the settlement of Dobuduru (where the people speak a different dialect, presumably that which Williams called Dirou). Clearly, the task of establishing "tribal" units in this district would need to be done again, if it is worth doing at all, which I doubt, for reasons already given.

## Section 5: Contacts With Other Orokaiva

628 Generally, contacts outside the "Waseta tribe" are sparse.
[582] During the year, only one visit was made to Sivepe, in a kinship context, by persons from another district. This was a group from
[574] Kokoda, where a Sivepe man married 40 or more years ago, and the visit was from that man's children. Several Sivepe persons quoted as an ancestor a woman from Ajoro, a village close to Inonda. It turned out that all these linkages were due to one single event, namely the capture by the Isivita people of three Ajoro women during a raid. Two of these found their way to Garoubi where they
[424] married; the third woman's son came to live in Sivepe. Descendants of the Sivepe man continue to exercise each year their hunting rights at Ajoro. I could not find other references to ancestors
[572] beyond the "Waseta tribe" apart from these. Some people mentioned a friend, but rarely more than one, who came from another "tribal" district. Often these friends were found during employment, or at the mission school, or they were persons with special roles in mission or government, who had come to the Sasembata district in the course of their jobs. When women had such friends, it was more
[526] often due to a kinship link. An interesting example of the extending of such links under modern conditions occurred when a man from Sasembata village, employed in Kokoda, invited a number of fellow workers to Sasembata for a football game. These men were likewise in Kokoda for employment and came from the Aiga district.

[659] When the members of the "Waseta tribe" were accommodated at
[731] Ilimo, they were not only the guests of the government which
[574] supplied food and other comforts, but also of the people of Ilimo village who had agreed to the camp being established. From the little I could find out about relationships between hosts and

628 guests, it appears that they were friendly but rather formal. As
574 will be shown later, all arrangements in connection with Ilimo
731 camp were made between the government and the Ilimo people; the
Orokaiva had no forms of organisation, in 1951, through which the
[659] refugees could have negotiated directly with Ilimo. The hosts generously supplied food, grew extra food in special plots, provided abundant building material from their land, and a site for the camp and helped with the preparation of the camp while the evacuees still lived at Wairope, in return for which the government made various gifts which Ilimo evidently regarded as adequate payment. At no point, during the existence of the camp, did the refugees develop an organisation which dealt directly with the Ilimo people. Thus, the only contact between hosts and guests was on a social level.

The camp was built at some little distance from the village. Refugees who had friends and relations in Ilimo used to go over to the village and visit them. There was for instance, at the time of the eruption, one Sivepe man resident at Ilimo; thus some Sivepe people paid visits to the village. There was an Easter celebration at the camp to which the village people came. When the camp broke up, the government gave a feast to the Ilimo people, on behalf of the evacuees, in the usual Orokaiva style.

121 If we wish to answer the question to what extent contact between different "tribal" groups (or distant groups) of Orokaiva has become more intensive since the eruption, we cannot confine ourselves to contacts occurring in villages such as Sivepe or Ilimo. Here the pattern suggested in the previous pages has hardly
[178] changed. The changes have occurred by the development of new organisations (to which I shall refer later) through labour migration and through urban development.

464 As I am at present discussing only unorganised contacts
166 between villagers, I can give only one clear instance of changing
633 attitudes and this is in Popondetta itself. Popondetta, the new
administrative centre of the Northern District, has about 4,000
[162] inhabitants, almost all Orokaiva; among its inhabitants all parts of the Northern District are represented, including Sivepe. The Sivepe people had many relatives there, mostly hailing from the Sasembata district, and employed in some regular job in the town. These jobs are partly in personal service to Europeans, but also in light industry, the retail trade, public works and public service, and go far beyond the little employment that was available in pre-eruption Higaturu (with a population which, judging from aerial photographs, can hardly have exceeded that of a large village).
484 Popondetta is preeminently the place where intelligent men from
521 various villages can gather informally to discuss political and other
633 public questions, and develop a wider interpretation of the situation of the Orokaiva which is learnt by the men from the villages when they pay occasional visits to Popondetta. The town generates a new

## CHAPTER IV: Contacts with Congeners

### Section 1: Kind and Frequency of Contact

731 628 Because of the circumstances of relocation of the Orokaiva, one cannot generally study relationships between persons who were resettled and persons who stayed in their old locations; the old locations were in general restricted areas which remained uninhabited. For a short period, the population of Sivepe was split into one half resettled on their old lands and one half resettled at Awala. If Awala had offered a viable alternative to residence at Sivepe, an interesting interrelation between the two groups might have developed. As it was, the Seho people who stayed with their clansmen at Awala, established gardens at Sivepe and soon preferred to return. Likewise the Sewa people who escaped to Inonda chose the return to their own lands, even though there was no shortage of land at Inonda. While the Seho clan group stayed at Awala, they made frequent visits to Sivepe, but their children went to school at Awala. Once Old Sivepe was built and gardens were established, the Sivepe people made a large feast for Awala, to express gratitude for the hospitality received. (1954)

### Section 2: Encouragement of Contacts

731 654 From the first week of evacuation, both government officers and village constables and other community leaders were well aware of the homesickness of the people and their desire to return as often as possible to the villages they had left behind. The camp authorities at Ilimo were only too well aware of the profound shock and despondency of the people and were ready to allow brief expeditions to home villages as long as this could be done without creating fresh conflicts. Hence a policy was developed of permitting return for short visits under supervision of village constables and involving only a limited number of people. Men only were allowed to go home, as the authorities were afraid (not without reason) that if families went back to the villages it would be hard to get them to return to camp out of the restricted areas. In case of further eruptions, the administration of the camps would naturally be blamed. It seems very likely that the initiative for the organising of these expeditions came from the community leaders. Village constables would request permission from Mr. Kaad, mostly because people put pressure on the village constables.

654 After resettlement in Awala and other villages, the government
731 made no attempt to discourage the resettled people from making contact with other villages, as long as they did not begin to reside within the area that was still restricted in May, 1951.

Section 3: Morale of the Relocated Community

731 In earlier chapters, I have already drawn attention to the
823 widespread homesickness of the evacuees and their insistence upon maintaining identification with the homeland. Undoubtedly, separation from this land compels the Orokaiva to abandon many of his customs and traditions of the past, because so many of these customs and traditions [852] arise out of association with the land. To give only one example, a ceremony thought to be necessary for the survival of a new-born child [794] is, even now, performed in a family garden. Separation from the family land makes such a ritual impossible. At Ilimo, traditional rituals were replaced to some extent by the unaccustomed frequency of Christian religious services which were always well-attended. This, however, was at no time accepted as a substitute for the old way of life.

731 Naturally, in the circumstances, people did not feel any pride
77 or satisfaction in their situation in the evacuation camps. Once they were resettled in new villages on their own land, they felt pride in the new villages and in the "new way of life" they had adopted. Sivepe [438] was proud, for instance, of having discarded its pigs. On one occasion they were bargaining to buy a pig from neighbouring Garembi which still [626] had its pigs. During the bargaining, a Garembi man taunted Sivepe about its lack of this kind of treasure. The Sivepe people haughtily called off the sale. Such pride and interest in innovation was associated with a sense of security regarding land tenure and Sivepe's status in relation to other villages. If Sivepe had not felt secure in its ideology of the "new way," there would have been dismay at Garembi's taunt about the lack of pigs. But nobody in Sivepe doubted the rightness of the choice that had been made.

657 731 423 245 It is a ticklish question whether this rule similarly applies to coffee trees which differ from the traditional kind of trees in two ways: first, in that they occupy the whole of a piece of land and not just a few square feet of it and secondly, in that they are a source of cash income. The government was aware, from the beginning of the coffee scheme, that traditional Orokaiva law might be inadequate to protect coffee growers but balked before the huge task of giving all Orokaiva a legally registered title to their land. If this were to be done according to the principles of Australian law, it would involve expensive surveys, endless litigation and cost many times the value of the land, even if qualified personnel could be found to do the work. The Northern District administration therefore hit upon an ingenious dodge, by which the Higaturu Local Government Council, after summary investigation, issued declarations allotting land to persons who wished to plant cash crops. These declarations, made and witnessed by the clan elders, allotted the land to the grower in perpetuity. (For details see Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 89 f.) The practise of issuing these declarations was soon stopped by the authorities in Port Moresby who ruled that they have no legal validity, but Mumuni is one place where they were issued.

657 731 423 578 628 After planting their coffee at Mumuni, the Dapari people began to depend for their subsistence gardens on land they owned in their own natal district, which was an hour or so from Mumuni. All the Dapari people, except for the Jegase clan group of Dapari, went back to their natal district to build a new village; the Jegase clan group was the only one to stay behind at Mumuni. Their position was more favourable, as they owned land near Mumuni; hence they had no reason to go back to Dapari. I met these Jegase people when they visited Sivepe to receive brideprice. They told me then that one Mumuni man had made a large gift of land on which all the Dapari people grew their coffee. The Jegase group was growing coffee there without being disturbed by anyone, nor were they ever asked for payment. On the other hand, the owner wanted his land back from those Dapari people who had left to build their own village. But this group insisted on holding on to their coffee plantation; they stayed at Dapari and had subsistence gardens there, but they returned to Mumuni from time to time to look after their coffee. They claimed they were entitled to do this because they had been registered as owners in the Higaturu Council declarations. Thus a conflict developed, in which Mumuni relied on traditional custom whereas Dapari relied on a (legally invalid) kind of certificate of title. In this quarrel, the government could do little except hope it would blow over.

A New Zealand geographer, Mr. Peter Aitkins, who made a study of this area (unpublished), told me that the Mumuni people had begun harvesting coffee from the Dapari-planted plots. My own investigation showed that nothing was ever stolen from the Jegase clan group (who had not left Mumuni) and that Dapari had offered to sell the coffee stands to the Mumuni owner of the land, and that the owner was prepared

657 to buy, but there was no agreement on the price. Thus the thefts
731 seem to be a stratagem to get Dapari to agree to a lower price.

The first lesson we may draw from this example is that evidently,
423 resettlement villages are liable to be unstable unless the resettled
group has solid land rights close to the village. Thus, the resettle-
[578 ment of a group of Garombi people in Sivepe in 1966 may well be stable
[628 because these people own land within a one-mile radius from Sivepe.
But the resettlement of Dapari people in Mumuni was unstable because
the Dapari land was more than one mile away. In fact, the distance
between Mumuni and the Dapari lands could not have been much above two
miles, but this is still too far for subsistence gardeners. It is
therefore clear why Sivepe people did not agree to stay at Awala after
1951: their land was between two and four miles away from Awala, and
this was regarded as an excessive distance. In the light of the events
at Mumuni, we would be wrong to regard this attitude as "traditional"
and "opposed to modernisation;" it was a shrewd assessment of the
drawbacks of resettlement villages.

657 In the first phase of resettlement, the government took a
731 predominant part. Before evacuees could leave Ilimo, they had to
agree to resettlement in one of a number of villages which were to be
developed according to modern principles. The government took pains,
however, to work out the details of resettlement in consultation with
local Orokaiva leaders. Nonetheless, arrangements such as the sending
of the Jegase of Isivita to Kongohambo, in the hope that they would be
helped by local Jegase clan groups, were not based on a realistic
assessment of the possibilities. This agreement was easy to get as
it was seen to be a necessary condition for leaving Ilimo camp.
Resettlement plans were thus imperfectly adapted to the traditional
relationships between the groups concerned.

621 In the second phase of resettlement, many of the groups allocated
731 to the scheduled list of resettlement villages branched off to villages
657 of their own. This process started almost at once and continued for
more than five years. I have already stated that in Sivepe this phase--
the withdrawal from Awala--took place in the years 1951-1952, while
at Hohorita, Bagevaturu, Kiorota, Seva, Dapari it happened a good
deal later. In this second phase, the participation of the government
was much less active. In Sivepe, a patrol officer made a decision as
to the site of the village and the groups to be contained in it but
this was only after half the people had already lived in Pamba for
some time and a quarrel with neighbouring Kongohambo had broken out,
and when the Seho people were returning to the area.

The history of the settlement of Kiorota and Bagevaturu may
be traced from a file of the Department of District Administration,
Popondetta (12-3-2A). As already mentioned, the Isivita evacuees,
numbering 1,869, were "re-established" in the resettlement villages
of Kongohambo and Koipa. Soon disputes began to arise owing to the
insufficiency of land--villages such as Sivepe could give only limited
help in the way of lending gardening lands and marauding pigs were

794 and sang hymns and gossiped. Once a week, or at least as many weeks
575 as there was no obstacle to holding a meeting, they went to women's club, did some sewing, discussed club affairs and played basketball. The older women did not like the basketball and were not interested in the innovations that were talked about in the club. They only attended women's club on special occasions. There was a contribution of 2/- per month which was generally paid only by the younger women.

Shortly after our arrival, a conflict developed between the club and the school. The head teacher objected to the noise made by the women, who spent the mornings sewing in the clubhouse which was on the station and then played basketball on the school ground in the afternoon. He could not get the students to pay attention to the lessons on the women's club day--which at that time was regularly every Tuesday. He suggested the women should build a club house away from the station. The pastor agreed with this suggestion, much to the rage of his wife, who was club president.

[554] The effect of this altercation was a plan to build the club house in Sivepe, the nearest village, and play basketball there. The Sivepe women were delighted, as this greatly increased their status in the club, not only vis-à-vis the other villages, but also vis-à-vis the mission women, hitherto the aristocrats. For the next two weeks after this, the women met very frequently, as the decision to build in Sivepe, though wholly agreeable to the pastor, was mortifying to his wife and jealously regarded by the women from the other villages. At these meetings it was less important what was discussed than by whom they were boycotted. The mission women continued to argue against the decision for a further fortnight, with several meetings failing through lack of attendance. Meanwhile, school boys carried the materials of the old club house from the station down to their village, and Sivepe men cleared a handsome site for the club-house and erected the posts.

794 The mission women now withdrew from the club and asked for their
575 membership fees back, which they were given. It appeared that their
578 quarrel was not so much with Sivepe but with the Sasembata village
● 628 women. Most of the land used by mission teachers belonged to that village; the Sasembata women thought, with some justice, that the mission women were not sufficiently diligent in their garden work. It was customary for all school children to bring one taro to school each week and also each family brought some taro to Sunday service. This food was in part distributed among the mission teachers. The Sasembata women took the view that these gifts to teachers were necessitated only by the laziness of the teachers' wives. The latter countered this abuse with the argument I have already mentioned, viz. that it was necessary for coastal people to teach among the Orokaiva because the Orokaiva were too barbaric and ignorant to have teachers of their own.

The men soon lost interest in the building of the clubhouse. It was not easy to understand why they lost interest; when I asked them they pointed out that some of the houses in the New Sivepe had not

794 yet been completed (which was true) and that these ought to have
575 priority. The women then became impatient; after which they explained
578 to me that the women had talked to them insolently and they had told
628 them to build the house themselves (which was a male task; it would
[962] have been unthinkable that women would have dared to do it). The same men devoted most of the following two months on building the mission hospital, so that their explanation did not hold water. The most likely explanation is that the men felt disinclined to build a clubhouse that was clearly going to be a source of conflict between themselves, the mission and other villages, such as Sasembata. They probably stopped work mainly in order to see whether the conflict would blow over and when their own women started to importune them, lost no time in withdrawing. I base this explanation more on attitudes observed at the time than on explicit informants' statements which were very guarded at this early stage of my research. (All this happened in our first month in Sivepe.) Basketball and meetings meanwhile continued at Sivepe, and sewing continued quietly at the pastor's house. The club was busy making uniforms for the basketball team. The next stage of the transactions between the station and Sivepe was much more subtle.

535 About three months before our departure from Sivepe, a mission
[123] teacher told me that his wife intended to teach Sivepe women a coastal
[199] women's initiation dance called the kere. This, he suggested, would be in our honour. My wife at once expressed much interest in joining in this dance. Nothing happened, of course, during lent but on April 1, the first week after Easter, the village fell dead silent early in the evening, everyone pretended to go to bed, the women slunk away somewhere and late at night all the women appeared dressed in white tapa cloths and tarpaulins, clearly impersonating spirits and performing a vigorous but most eerie dance, while all the men at first stayed indoors and the village remained otherwise in total silence.
[534] I even heard a flute, a highly sacred instrument which everybody continued to pretend was never played. The next evening the same performance was repeated; I then heard in conversations not intended for my ears that these dancers were the embahi (spirits). On the third day it was intimated to my wife that she might join. The "practises" (as they were now called) continued, though my wife never actually heard the flutes when she was dancing. After more than two months of almost daily practise, the kere was performed in public at the mission station, its character having been gradually transformed from a rite into a dramatic representation. Nonetheless, a careful observer could see elements of initiation ritual at all stages.

794 At all these practises, the mission teacher sat and watched
575 at the centre of the stage. His wife played the role of the teacher;
578 later, she asked an older woman, an expert from her natal village, to take over the leadership. The clearest sign of the continuing status battle was in the unending arguments on where the practises were to be held. Sivepe insisted they should be in the village but the station

## CHAPTER VIII: Selection of Emigrants

731 At the time of the eruption, the whole of the population fled from the volcano; those who wished to stay behind were persuaded to leave by village constables when the area surrounding the mountain was declared "restricted" by regulation. The whole of this population, of the affected villages was placed in evacuation camps and, in general, it was again the total population of the pre-eruption villages that was transferred to the resettlement villages established in and after May, 1951.

621 657 Recruitment to these villages was therefore non-selective and by government order. The amount of land available at the new location and the clan affiliation of the groups relocated were the main criterion in allocating particular groups to specific resettlement villages. The allocation was done by a government officer who took into account the preferences expressed by community leaders as between the alternative resettlement villages available. It is hard to say at this stage just how much self-selection occurred, but the evidence suggests that in 1951 there was a very limited amount of self-selection. The situation in the camps was a very disturbed one. Undoubtedly, when two groups joined together and told Mr. Kaad that they wished to form a village together, Mr. Kaad would agree to this, but a heavy burden of decision fell on the government. After 1951, a good number of relocated groups founded new resettlement villages, mostly with prior government permission. In these later settlements, self-selection played an important part.

361 [628] When self-selection of resettlement sites occurred, the following were among the reasons for choice, as is demonstrated from evidence at Sivepe and Hohorita: proximity to land to which the group has good title; greatest possible distance from hostile groups from which aggression and sorcery may be feared; closeness to groups with which a historical connection exists. The Hohorita people, though from a wide range of clans, all have their origin in a fairly compact cluster of Sangara villages. This has kept them together as a reasonably solidary village. In Sivepe, we witnessed the exodus from Awala, because of land problems; the exodus from Pemba, because of troubles with neighbouring Kongohambo, to a place one mile removed; and more recently, the exodus of small groups from Binduta and Garombi, in both cases on the basis of historical affiliation. In the case of the Binduta families, this was an agnatic or clan linkage; in the case of Garombi, the links are far more complex and will be discussed under the heading of "Internal Influences."

621 The village group was the organisational unit of settlement. No larger cohesive group exists among the Orokaiva, though some resettlement village groups were much larger than pre-eruption ones.

361 bende--"side" of a village. The term da is applied to the total set
621 of houses built in a single jungle clearing. The layout of a da
usually resembles that given in Maps V-VIII.[A] There is an empty space
in the centre, which is faced by houses, usually arranged in something
[364] like parallel rows. The centre is called araha. In the traditional
village there is an area, immediately surrounding the da which is
given over to sorcery and where the rubbish is thrown. This is called
isapa, a word also meaning "small" and it is indeed only a narrow
strip, outside which the village gardens begin. The word da is applied
equally to a large village and to a settlement of two or three houses,
as long as it has the features mentioned. The house or bande, if it
is a permanent dwelling, is part of a da and mostly is placed on one
of the two sides or rows (bende), though as the village plans show,
houses are also built to complete the rectangle.

The ridgepole of a house tends to be erected along the line
361 made by the row or bende. The floor plan is rectangular, as shown in
342 Diagram XII.[B] The long side of the rectangle faces the araha and the
door is usually in front in the centre. The house tends to be divided
into two halves, a front half and a back half, the division being a
wall built directly below the ridgepole. The front half tends to be
a space where people sit and talk and where visitors come in the
evenings, while the back half, containing the sleeping rooms, is
rather more private and not usually for visitors. The back portion is
often divided into two separate rooms. I have already referred briefly
to some buildings that are not residences: the small ceremonial meeting
places that are called arara in Sivepe, jataka in Hohorita or by either
name in Inonda; the lavatories, the chickencoops (very often, indeed,
the same structure); the feasthouses and visitors' sun shelters, which
are temporary; and the women's club houses which are a novelty. None
of these are usually placed in the regular rows, though sometimes
meeting places are built next to the house of the owner.

Villages are rather compact, the houses being built at a
361 distance of nine yards, and this distance is precisely measured in the
[177] Australian spirit of military regularity. Everyone is always within
easy shouting distance of everyone else; nothing in the village goes
unheard, unobserved. The two "sides" are under constant observation
of one another. Movement between the houses of one side is much less
conspicuous, however, than the act of crossing the araha to go to
the other side. One never does this unless one has a serious reason.
Movement between houses of the same side occurs continuously for
ordinary gossip.

Inonda formed one da after some battles early in the century
361 (Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963: 14-15); at the time of the eruption there
731 was one da with 48 people and the village stayed together, [illegible] a slight
decline in population (to 45 in 1962 and 41 in 1967) and a [illegible]line in
628 the number of houses from 12 in 1950 to eight in 1962 and seven in
1967. When the Sewa people joined Inonda after the eruption, they did
not actually, according to informants, live in the same village as the

A [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 5-End Map 7--Analyst]
B [See Cat. 116, pp. End Map 11(A)-End Map 11(B)--Analyst]

361 Inonda people. They built a da of their own at a very short distance
731 from Inonda; both these da were very close to the airstrip and
abandoned now. Although these two da were less than a hundred yards
628 apart, they were still two socially distinct units. It sometimes
happens, as in the case of Hohovita, to which I shall return, that
two such contiguous villages are later joined together into a single
one, but this is a deliberate act, involving the slashing down of the
intervening brushwood and, ideally, also the removal of houses which
would run through the centre of the combined village. If Sewa people
had taken up permanent residence in Inonda, such fusion would have
occurred, no doubt, but instead they went back to their own land.

621 Sivepe, with its present composition, goes back in time no
361 further than about 1948 when the village Pamba was built, combining
an older Sive and a now defunct village Pusahambo. The census list
[162] current at the time of the eruption still shows the population of the
two villages separately, though in fact they had already fused.
(Sive 58, Pusahambo 41) I do not know how many residential units there
were then, but in Old Sivepe, in 1962, 23 were counted, plus one
belonging to the anthropologist. At that time, the population was
120. When I arrived in Sivepe, the new village was only partly
completed. Some people lived in new houses; some had not yet built
or finished their new houses, but had shifted their old houses from
the old to the new village. Others again were still domiciled in the
old village, but had declared their intention to start building in the
new one "soon." At the time of my arrival, six of the houses in the
old village were still inhabited; nine months later, this number had
dropped to three, two of the houses being inhabited by widows living
alone, while the head of the sole remaining family had almost completed
[231] his house in the new village. At the time of my arrival, a good number
of the village pigs were still being kept in the old village (these
animals being rigorously barred from the new one) but by the end of
my stay, these pigs had all gone to the bush. New Sivepe, at that
time, had 25 dwelling units, plus the one rapidly nearing completion.
The total number of dwelling units included in the study (28) accommodated
137 people. There was occasional discussion of further increments in
the population, as families from Garombi were considering moving in
and would have been welcomed.

361 At no time since the eruption did Sivepe exhibit rigorously the
village plan that was regarded as ideal. In Old Sivepe 18 out of 23
houses were arranged around the araha in standard fashion, while another
five houses had been built outside the village proper, along the old
[426] jeep road, separated from the rest of the village by a gully. The
land on which Old Sivepe was built was lent by three individuals from
different kinship groups; residents chose their house site irrespective
[423] of their possible ownership of land on the village site. On the other
hand, the five houses built outside the village proper were all on
land owned by the residents. Though some of these houses were as
much as four chains away from the village proper, they were still

## CHAPTER III: Degree of Homogeneity of the Community

621 To what extent do we find ethnic diversity in this population? The answer to this question depends very much on our concept of homogeneity. If we look merely at the diversity of clans and of places of birth of present community members, as stated by themselves, a remarkably homogeneous picture may be presented for Sivepe: out of 28 male adults actually resident in Sivepe, 26 were born within two miles of the present village site; the other two were born in Soroputa, which [591] is hardly more than four miles away. Both the Soroputa men had married [582] Sivepe women; they were the only two families that were overtly uxorilocal. Although the rest of the families were all overtly virilocal, only seven out of 33 adult Sivepe females came from a village more than two miles away from the present village site. None of these seven were over 45 years of age; all but two were under 35 years old. Furthermore, six of these seven women married into the Jegase clan. Only one of them married into Seho; in this case, the woman had married a Jegase man, become divorced, and then remarried into Seho.

621 The traditional pattern was for a man to marry a woman from
582 a nearby village; the present generation of Seho householders had all followed this tradition. The more modern pattern is to choose women from further afield; this had become a frequent practise for the younger Jegase men who tended to choose wives from villages two to four (but never more) miles from Sivepe. Sorovi had followed the traditional pattern, without one exception. From this viewpoint, homogeneity was extreme.

563 In Inonda, two of the nine adult male inhabitants were born
169 outside the district: one came from Arafa, in the Managalasi district and was captured by Inonda people in war as an infant. This fact was at first concealed from me and only elicited when inconsistencies arose. If one asks his clan name, he answers it is Andiriha. He has two sons living in the village, both married. The other immigrant is a Sangara man who was a mission teacher at Sewa before the eruption, came to Inonda with the other Sewa people, and did not return to Sewa when the others went back to their old village. His two daughters both married Inonda men.

621 Of the ten adult women living at Inonda, four came from the
628 Sangara tribe, one from Kendata in the Sasembata district and the others [582] from villages in the vicinity of Inonda. The term "vicinity" has a slightly different meaning in the Inonda district than in the far more densely populated area around Sivepe. The villages from which Inonda women tended to come were three or four miles away rather than just one mile. To this greater geographical distance corresponded a greater

621 social distance also. Relations between Inonda and Ureo or Hohota,
628 from which Inonda recruited wives, were distinctly less friendly than those prevailing between, say, Sivepa, Garombi and Binduta. (See my doctoral dissertation and also Hogbin, 1966.)

If we seek an explanation for the far greater heterogeneity
563 of Inonda, we find two historical causes in this sample: a war and
621 a disaster. The link with Kendata came through the Managalasi man;
167 the links with Sangara came as a result of the eruption of Mt. Lamington. Admittedly, this Sangara link was of a modern type, the central figure being a mission teacher. The residential pattern however is ancient: due to some vicissitude, a man settled with his affines; this led to further marriages between his village of origin and his village of residence. He was given enough land to cultivate for subsistence. In this case, the Sangara immigrant still quoted his own clan name when asked; the Managalasi man did not.

If we go back a little further in the history of Sivepa, even only one generation beyond the present residents, we find much the
[727] same pattern as still survives in Inonda. The capturing of young
[423] orphans was a commonplace event among the Orokaiva, as were also migrations to escape from enemies. Sometimes the fugitives or the orphans returned eventually to their village of origin, looking for a friendly relative who was willing to meet their claims to the land of their fathers. In going back a few generations into the past, one never knows for certain who is a new immigrant and who is a claimant for ancient rights.

The tendency is always to obliterate the traces of alien origin, to drop alien phonetical habits and alien use of grammar and
[723] vocabulary as soon as possible. On the other hand, myths of the place of origin will still be transmitted to the children, so that anyone collecting tales among the Orokaiva will be presented with a variety of versions of different local origin. Many of the best ones I collected were of Kiorota origin because the father of old man who told the stories came from that district about 45 years ago. Furthermore, the links with the place of origin are rarely broken off, not even in the case of women or babies who were abducted as war captives. The immigrant wishes to keep alive his land rights in his place of origin. The people of his native village in return wish to exploit any advantages there may be in the connection between their absent clansman and his hosts. This connection will be kept alive by further intermarriages.

Immigrants and their descendants therefore retain multiple
167 loyalties. As these loyalties are kept alive over the generations
563 by intermarriage, use of trees in the other village, fishing and hunting rights, and as migration used to be very common before the pax Australiana, such multiple loyalties are extremely common. I am not quite sure how these loyalties fared in time of war, but I understand that if two men who were linked by such relationships found themselves on opposite sides in a war, they were unlikely to fight each other though stories are told of unfortunate accidents. I have

Section 3: Social Environment

619 In discussing the Waseta "tribe" I suggested that its boundaries would be hard to establish and that it gave little evidence of any [199] sense of unity. The case of Sangara is somewhat different; first of all, Sangara speaks a dialect of its own that is easily distinguishable from that of other areas. Secondly, a Sangara man is able, if he is knowledgeable enough, to list some 27 villages which formed a loose military alliance, and between which raids and organised ward did not [582] occur. These 27 villages formed at the same time an area within which intermarriage would regularly occur. The present population of Hoborita and the adjunct villages is drawn entirely from this alliance. (The number 27 is probably an underestimate.)

621 Since the government made Sangara the centre of the Northern District immediately after the war, patrols were active in the Sangara [651] district to amalgamate villages. A number of the people now living in Hoborita report that they came from such consolidated villages, such as Tunana, which absorbed three neighbouring villages just before the eruption. Informants say that the clusters of villages joined together in this way had always been closely related. The population of Hoborita is more diverse. I was at first told that it was composed of households of four clans (Horeopa, Oripa, Besupa and Sehopa), the first two clans being in the front village and the last two in the back village. A house-to-house census revealed representatives of a further eight clans, sometimes survivors of clans that had otherwise died out, sometimes a clan more fully represented in Kakita or Soubou while two clan names came from the Sasembata district, under circumstances to be discussed later. Furthermore, when a number of families came from the same clan, they were not always from the same village. While Soubou was inhabited by the remnants of one cluster of four villages, and Kakita by the remnants of one village, Hoborita offered a more general hospitality to all Sangara.

621 Because of their history, the four Sangara villages built since the eruption form a rather tight cluster, quite different from the ●628 intersecting circle pattern I described for the Sasembata district. When a person in Soubou died, the whole of Hoborita rushes to join the wake. All four villages in the cluster do this for each other, but [731] not for any other village. Because of the sharp drop in population, and the way the survivors were thrown together after the disaster, people who were previously bound together only by a very loose alliance now behave in the same way as a small neighbourhood cluster of closely related villages.

Meanwhile, the Sangara people are rapidly developing friendships and affinal links outside the tribe. In 1966, the front half of Hoborita gave a feast for Koipa (a large Isivita resettlement village), the back half gave a feast for Asigi, Irihambo gave a feast for Hoborita while Soubou, with the assistance of Kakita, entertained the Uhuru'undi

628 I found them elsewhere among the Orokaiva, it naturally became no easier for the mission station to lead the village.

758 759 [653] During the time I was at Hohorita, there was no local medical service because the officer appointed by the Health Department was a Sangara who insisted that a house should be built for him before he arrived. (Orokaiva are bound by law to do such work, in payment for government services rendered.) His kinsmen at Hohorita thought that if he wanted a house, he should build it himself. The medical, however, was in no hurry at all to go home; he stayed at his previous post for almost a year after he should have been transferred. Hohorita complained to the Health authorities that they had no medical; they found that unless they built the house, no medical would be provided but they would have to go to Saiho for service. Finally they yielded. This was far from being a case of anomie: it was a battle about the status to be granted to public officials at Hohorita.

653 In Sivepe, nobody would have questioned this status; they would have built a house at once for any public official who would have wanted to live there. But then, such a person would be bound to be a stranger, not a person "like themselves." When a village has produced a dozen or so public officials of one sort or another, the question begins to look different: what is so special about these people that we have to build houses for them? Furthermore, once upon a time, the Sangara working timetable was rather flexible, but with cashcropping on the Hohorita scale, and long walking distances between home and work, the Hohorita people were rather busy earning money from coffee. Time had become an economic resource.

This was a frequent subject of mild argument between me and the other expatriates. The expatriates used to complain that the Orokaiva were no longer willing to do any work (i.e., perform free services such as I am now discussing). They thought that if the Orokaiva were to advance economically, they would need to work much harder. I used to tease the other expatriates by saying that this growing reluctance to do free work for the government (roads, houses for officials, etc.) was evidence for the success of the economic development policy the expatriates claimed to be promoting. They thought this to be a sick joke.

173 In an earlier chapter, I already referred to an unusual foreshortening of Orokaiva history practised by Sangara informants of today. It is certainly remarkable that, according to Sangara, the Orokaiva only began to make feasts <u>after</u> the time of European contact, because earlier they could not grow enough food to hold them. Statements of this sort were made in two places (Sombou, Hohorita) by elders sitting together in groups and instructing me. I have already explained how such statements fit the traditional <u>structure</u> of Orokaiva history: original time / culture established by culture heroes / present day. As the coming of the Europeans occurred more than two generations ago, this event would seem to have been confused with the coming of the [731] culture heroes. When I did, in a very innocent way, express my

22: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1969 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23 Mount Lamington

TABLE 9

CONSANGUINEAL LINKAGES BETWEEN 51
SIVEPE INFORMANTS AND OTHER VILLAGES,
CLASSIFIED BY DEGREE OF NETWORK DENSITY

Principle of Classification: Villages are classified according to the number of informants who have kindred (no more than two degrees removed) originating there. Thus Class A comprises those villages mentioned by one (and no more than one) informant as the birthplace of members of his/her kindred. Class B comprises villages so mentioned by two (and no more than two) informants, Class C between 3 and 5, Class D between 6 and 10. Class E comprises those villages mentioned by more than 10 informants as the birthplace of members of their kindreds. When I speak of "one consanguineal linkage between one informant and another village," I leave out of account how many of my informant's consanguines were born in that other village--it might be one or several dozen.

| Density of Network By Classes | Number of Villages In Each Class | Number of Consanguineal Linkages Between Informants and Other Villages |
|---|---|---|
| Class A | 36 | 36 |
| Class B | 11 | 22 |
| Class C | 19 | 74 |
| Class D | 5 | 40 |
| Class E | 5 | 61 |
| TOTAL | 76 | 233 |

629 166

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Consistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely 62 more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are (614) reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The 592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate 62 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living 622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, 422 usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in [154] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually [569] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen ac- [186] companying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that [628] while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were [728] precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes 361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic," 241 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture [518] which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site." 361 Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend 261 to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow 731 zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild 165 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica- 178 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly [749] to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ- 361 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have 571

[p 18-B]

mingled more freely as a result of travel on the government roads and trails (which they have to keep in order), trading, Mission and official gatherings, and other new opportunities for interpersonal relations. One special feature of Orokaiva life in modern times is the annual burning-off of grasslands by hunting parties in order to get wild game. This has probably involved the assembly of larger groups and is one of the few activities which could induce intersettlement cooperation. The writer sensed the parallel of the crude local fires set for garden clearing and the general burning-off of grasslands to the major burning and blackening in the wake of the volcano—doubtless a mighty job of clearing to the Orokaiva eye.

Within the limits that brief characterizations of personality norms can be valid, observers seem to agree that the Orokaiva as individuals have traits congruent with the social structure that favor individuality and mobility. Even the casual visitor gets a sense of independence, alertness, self-reliance, "strong talking," dignity, restraint, imperturbability at meeting the unexpected event, and high-tension interpersonal behavior in general. This is in particularly striking contrast to such an elaborately structured society as that of Samoa, where the writer had been working shortly before. In informal groups seen around the camps and waiting at airfields for transport, women and children, far from being in the background, kept up a busy verbal exchange with the men. The Administration has considered the Orokaiva territory as perhaps the best recruiting ground for its Royal Papuan Constabulary on the basis of these personality characteristics, including ability to meet crisis conditions such as patrols may encounter.

The Orokaiva religious history is also particularly interesting here. Their traditional faith, Williams says, though in many respects vague and locally variable, concerned itself "primarily with the spirits of the dead" and their influence on the welfare of the living. Death was appraised with particular realism, although it was considered ultimately as the result of supernatural causes. Magic had a consistent place. Orokaiva country, however, has been swept in modern times by a series of new cults indicative of religious adaptability in the face of fresh experience. First to come into prominence was the *Baigone*, or "snake cult" of 1911-12, succeeded from 1914 on by the so-called "Taro cult" which in turn had undergone a series of local reformulations by the time Williams reported on it in 1924.[7] Central features of the Taro cult were association of successful taro cultivation with the ancestral spirits, approached by way of a "shaking-fit" technique of revelation, together with somewhat new types of public ritual and symbols, including fragmentary elements from Christianity. Later Belshaw and others reported that "Christian Co-operative Evangelist" societies, which were developed by the Anglican Mission among some Orokaiva converts for the cooperative growing of rice and other crops, tended to assume a somewhat parallel and absorbing mystical agriculture context. Rumors spread of "an order from the King (of England) that co-operatives

7. *Orokaiva Magic*, Part I; see also Chinnery, E. W. P. and Haddon, A. C., "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *Hibbert Journal*, 15, 3 pp. 448-463 (1917). Materials are also found in the official reports of the time.

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



(1965) distinction between generalized and balanced reciprocity may be useful. Let us note, however, that the relationship between the fictional *apa/eambo* is one where kin distance is infinite (they are not kinsmen) so that according to Sahlins' model, balanced reciprocity should apply. Instead, the norm is generalized reciprocity, as one gives all one has, be it much or little. The crux of the *apa/eambo* relationship, real or fictional, is that property is pooled and belongs to all members of the group equally. When brothers live together, or when they hold land in common and thus are able to live together, such pooling occurs perpetually. Hereditary friends meet rarely – frequently not even as often as once a year. Thus, their ability to use the pool, or contribute to it, is limited. But the manner of giving emphasizes an ideology that is a pooling relationship. Hence, the return visit is obligatory for the host: the gifts given with the first visit express symbolically a statement by partner A to B: "you are my brother." But for the relationship to persist, B must be able to reply in the same idiom: "you, A, are my brother," and he can make this statement only by presenting gifts in his own village.

The ambiguity is now clear: the hereditary friendship relation is one between partners who act out the role of brothers. It is possible to show this ambiguity on the formal level of kinship terminology by inquiring into the term of reference and address used for the wife of an hereditary friend. By the rules of the kinship system, she should be called *hovatu*, but she is in fact called *du*, as the restraints of the affinal relationship are considered too irksome.

*Changes in Group Membership Status*

From what has been said above, it is clear that the principle of generalized reciprocity holds with regard to the equivalence of gifts between friends. The mythological charter explicity states that a small gift in times of shortage, is to be deemed equivalent to a large gift in times of abundance. On the other hand, the principle of balanced reciprocity holds concerning the pattern of exchanges, in that every visit is followed by a return visit, at the end of which balance is expected to be achieved.

Let us consider the development of friendship relations. In the course of a lifetime, a person meets many strangers of whom the congenial ones may become *otavo* or fictional *simbo*. He will be especially attracted to a few with whom he establishes a permanent kin-like bond, either on the *apa/eambo* or the *simbo* model. Occasions for such encounters may be feasts between previously hostile groups so that the groups of which the hereditary friends are members may not share the friendly feelings of the individuals who have become *otavo*, *namei*, *jao*, *simbo*, and the like. Thus, inter-community conflicts may come and go and the bond may continue over the generations. Far from this being a betrayal of group loyalties, the friendship

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



bond is respected by both sides and utilized for purposes of mediation. The friend is not an ally in war, but his person is sacrosanct.

Hereditary friendships are more likely to fade naturally and quietly than to die violently in a quarrel. On the other hand, they may become converted to affinal bonds or lead to co-residence, in which case an entirely new pattern arises. It is possible for migrants into a village to have no bonds other than those of hereditary friendship with their chosen hosts. But once co-residence is established, the new arrivals soon become involved in intra-community politics along the lines suggested by Watson (1970): one of the existing factions woos the new arrivals to its side. A strong bond soon develops between the immigrants and the faction into which they are drawn. Intermarriage is likely to follow. A study of the composition of Orokaiva clans (see Schwimmer, 1970a) suggests that they are most often composed of a number of groups differing in local origin. These groups did not generally bear the same clan name prior to settlement, and sometimes they had no relatives at all in the village where they settled. (Still, it would be more usual for at least some members of the migrating group to have connections in the new place.) In the case of the Sorovi people who migrated to Sivepe in 1966, these connections were often of the fictive (friendship) *apa/eambo* type.

*Apa/eambo* and *jao* relationships are inherited bilaterally; that is, passed on to both the sons and the daughters of the partners. The only restriction is that both members of the partnership must be of one sex; hence if partner A has only sons and partner B has only daughters, the partnership will die. Similarly, it may die if the age differences in any generation are too great. Even so, under bilateral succession, one would expect that people would recognize far more of these partnerships than in fact they do.

We don't know for how many generations they actually last. Friendship bonds are remembered exactly as long as genealogical bonds -- for two generations senior to ego -- but some may in fact be more ancient. Friendship bonds are most likely to be kept up when partner A has no kinsmen in partner B's village. Thus, they fill gaps in the network. They are put under strain when hostility develops between the two villages, although even then the friendship bond often survives.

*Friendship Obligations and their Ideological Basis*

(a) *Apa/eambo* or *namei*. The ceremony of receiving a guest friend differs in some ritual features from the hospitality shown to affines and to consanguineal competitive exchange partners. When the latter pay formal visits, gifts are made on arrival. Sometimes, the guest does not sit down or allow his string bag to touch the ground until he is satisfied with the gifts offered. This is especially true if the partners are to reconcile a quarrel. Amicability begins after business is concluded. The gifts, in such cases, are made by the

25: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1974 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



But recruitment to this status is not restricted to specific categories; any two people can become *namei*. These bonds provide some measure of control over the flow of information, and a prudent man will establish them in places where such control is important. They serve to set up channels of information where they are lacking in the kinship-generated network. Unfortunately, neither my Orokaiva data nor any other Oceanic data provide much specific information on the channels which these relationships open up, although Burridge has referred to Tangu friendship as providing "a form of communication." On this basis, a friend's obligations would be to spread the renown of your friend, speak in his favour if others criticize him, advise him of anything that is being undertaken against him, and so forth. In practice, anthropologists have often overlooked such obligations towards their friends in the field.

(b) *Jao*. An important source of hereditary friendships, perhaps the most important of all, are *jao* relationships: friendships between unrelated women. A woman uses the term *jao* to address the wife of any *hovatu* (brother-in-law) when these two women are unrelated. A consequence of the rule of virilocal marriage is that the married women in a village tend to be unrelated to each other, having been drawn from a variety of villages in which various families had exchanged relations. When these women become friendly with each other, they call each other *jao*. Similar friendships are also common between women of adjacent villages even when their husbands are unrelated.

As such relationships are hereditary bilaterally, they may lead to a *namei* or *apa/eambo* relation between the sons of these women in the second generation, thus linking families between which no friendship existed previously. Moreover, if the daughters of the *jao* become separated from each other after marriage, they often continue their own *jao* relation, and visit each other's villages. They receive gifts on these visits, though on a more modest scale than the men do (as far as I could see, only vegetable produce was given). At times, they may stay for a few days before they return. It seems to be the Orokaiva wife's way of having a break from the domestic round.

Unfortunately, a male anthropologist cannot plumb the mysteries of this relationship, as informants refuse to discuss it with any male, including their own husbands. A female anthropologist might find fascinating data; my only significant discovery was that women attach great weight to the institution, that it has secret aspects, and that it definitely binds males of the next generation. Married women certainly feel the lack of co-resident consanguines and the establishment of *jao* visits is clearly a substitute.

If two unrelated young women of district A are *jao* and marry in villages B and C, this leads to inter-village links, not only between A and B, and A and C (links directly resulting from the affinal relationships), but also between B and C since the *jao* continue to visit each other, as do their sons. Hence, the *jao* institution is an important source of friendship linkages.